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**From republic to principate
change and continuity in Roman coinage**

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FROM REPUBLIC TO PRINCIPATE:
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN ROMAN COINAGE

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Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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I, the undersigned, do hereby declare that the following research is my own work and that the information is properly referenced and presented.

Victoria Monica Gyori

ABSTRACT

My thesis analyses the changes which occurred in the coinage of Rome from the mid-first century BC to the succession of Tiberius in AD 14 and investigates how they can contribute to our understanding of the nature and chronology of the formation of the Principate.

The first chapter discusses methodological problems. I argue that the current organization and classification of Roman coinage - especially the treatment of all post-31/27 BC coins as “imperial” - have prejudged and obscured the value of coinage as evidence for this transition.

The second chapter examines the Octavianic CAESAR DIVI F(ilius) and IMP(erator) CAESAR series of c. 32-27 BC. I argue these coins should be seen in a “Hellenistic monarchic” tradition following the Late Republican debt to Hellenistic artistic media.

The third chapter and the fourth chapter focus on coins minted at Rome and in Spain from 23 BC to 16 BC. I argue that while many of these coins still employ numerous Late Republican Hellenising motifs, they also introduce novel elements into the typological inventory of Roman coinage, such as “honorific” and “anticipatory” issues, as well as a boom in the use of explanatory legends.

The fifth chapter explores the dramatic shift in “familial” coin typology from the “ancestral” references in the Republic to portrayal of living members of the *domus Augusti*. The *domus Augusti* is the one numismatic theme that is found both on Augustan “mainstream” and “provincial” coins, and it seems that these types were first developed on the “provincial” coins.

Overall, I conclude that these developments were not unilinear: there had been a general trend starting in the late Republic to adopt “Hellenistic monarchic” elements on Roman coins, while Tiberian coins of the end of Augustus’ reign still have strong “Republican” elements. I argue, however, that, after a ‘false start’ before 27 BC, the decisive shift towards “monarchic” typology occurred after 19 BC.

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Victoria Monica Györi

INTRODUCTION

FROM REPUBLIC TO PRINCIPATE: COINS AND HISTORY

INTRODUCTION 1: THE HISTORICAL QUESTION

The question of when the Roman Principate began has been debated endlessly in modern scholarship. Ancient narratives and modern scholars concentrate primarily on the historical development of the constitutional position of Octavian/Augustus in the search for a specific date for the beginning of the Principate.

The ancient accounts which do offer a starting date for the Principate tend to choose the events of 28/27 BC. Cassius Dio, who provides the only extant narrative account of Octavian's rise to power and his rule as Augustus, says that from 27 BC there was a monarchy (end of 29 BC).¹ In 52.1.1 Dio writes that Rome first underwent kingship (*basileia*), then a republic (*demokratia*), then a *dynasteia*, and in the time of Augustus returned to a monarchy (*monarcheisthai*). Dio's primary emphasis is on the events of 28/27 BC. This is signposted after his account of 29 BC in Book 51 of a long "constitutional" debate between Agrippa and Maecenas which takes up almost all of Book 52. In Book 53 Dio begins with a synopsis of 28 BC, where he stresses Octavian's return to constitutional behaviour: he writes that Octavian did nothing contrary to ancestral custom, and he records Octavian's abolishment of all his illegal acts during the triumviral period.² He then gives a detailed account of what occurred in 27 BC. He concludes his narrative of Octavian's feigned resignation from and then acceptance of sole rulership by saying that Octavian was now "eager to establish the

¹ Dio 53.17.1. Another important date Dio mentions is Octavian's capture of Alexandria in 51.19.6. This refers to the idea of beginning the Alexandrian-Egyptian year on the date of his capture of Alexandria (August 1, 30 BC). However, the Alexandrian-Egyptian year reverted to starting on the first day of the Egyptian year (August 29). Thus, the first regnal year of Octavian in Egypt was from 29 August 30 BC to 28 August 29 BC. For further reference, see Geraci 1983: 158-163.

² Dio 53.1.1 and 53.2.5.

monarchy.”³ 53.12.1-16.8 then reviews the government of the empire as it in fact continued through to Dio’s own day. The division and administration of the provinces as they were laid out in the time of Augustus are recorded. Augustus was to hold a ten year *imperium* in Spain, Gaul, and Syria. The power and honours granted to Octavian are also mentioned, including the title of “Augustus”.⁴ 28/27 BC is also the key date for Tacitus: he says that in Octavian’s sixth consulship (28 BC) he abolished his triumviral acts, and “laid down laws for us to have *pax* and *princeps*”.⁵ The events of 28/27 BC are crucial in Augustus’ *Res Gestae*, but are spun as a return to constitutional normality.⁶ Augustus gives equal emphasis to the years 28 and 27 BC in *Res Gestae* 34.1. A recently discovered *aureus* shows that Octavian did indeed claim a return to constitutional normalcy in 28 BC. It depicts an obverse portrait of a laureate Octavian with the legend IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI and has a reverse depicting Octavian, togate and seated on a curule chair, holding out a scroll, and shows a *scrinium* on the ground by his chair. The reverse legend reads LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT.⁷ This reverse type refers to the restoration of statutes and laws that Octavian considered to be a component of the transfer process of the *res publica* to the Senate and people of Rome, and this act clearly occurred in 28 BC by the legend provided on the obverse.⁸ Velleius Paterculus refers to the events of 28/27 BC as if it had been a restoration of the Republic.⁹ Suetonius, in contrast, does not mention the events of 28/27 BC, but says that Augustus twice thought of restoring the Republic: the first time immediately after

³ Dio 53.2.6-11.5.

⁴ For further reference, see Rich 2013: 40-58.

⁵ *Annales* 3.28: sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu issuerat abolevit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur.

[At last, in his sixth consulate, secure of his power, Caesar Augustus annulled the decrees which he issued in his triumvirate and laid down laws for us to have *pax* and *princeps*.]

⁶ *RG* 34.1: In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia extinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. [In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished the civil wars and by universal consent had power over everything, I handed over the state to the judgment of the Senate and people of Rome.]

⁷ Fig. 1

British Museum accession no. CM 1995, 4-1.1.

Rich and Williams 1999 and Rich 2013.

⁸ For further discussion of this coin, see Chapter 2.

⁹ Velleius Paterculus 2.89.2-6.

he defeated Antony in 30 BC (but perhaps meaning the events of 28 BC), and the second time after he became ill in 23 BC. Suetonius has no start date for the Principate: he says that Augustus held onto power “arguably with better results than intentions”, and cites an edict from Augustus referring to his new status (“constitution”).¹⁰

Most modern scholars generally employ either 31 BC or 27 BC as the beginning of the Principate with reference either to historical events or constitutional consideration. General studies of the Roman Empire (the Principate) tend to use 31 BC because Octavian *de facto* ruled the Roman world after his Actian victory.¹¹ University courses on the history of the Roman Empire also typically begin with 31 BC.¹² A few specific studies on the age of Augustus also use Actium as a starting date of Augustus’ Principate.¹³ Most, however, use 27 BC.¹⁴ Syme, for instance, says that in 27 BC Octavian “went through a painless and superficial transformation from Dux to Princeps.”¹⁵

Other dates for the foundation of the Principate have been suggested. Following Tacitus’ account of Octavian’s abolition of his triumviral acts, Grenade employs 28 BC as the starting date.¹⁶ Mommsen developed a constitutional approach to the study of Roman history. In so doing, he created a type of “Augustan constitution” that led to the now standard employment of the term “constitutional settlement” for the events occurring in 27, 23, and 19 BC.¹⁷ The so-called First Settlement refers to the events of 27 BC. The so-called Second Settlement took place in 23 BC when Augustus resigned

¹⁰ Suetonius, *Augustus* 28.1-2.

¹¹ E.g. *CAH*² 1996: 70; Scullard 1982: 177, Grant 1985: 9 and Potter 2006: xix.

It should be noted that Grant wavers between 31 and 27 BC (e.g. 1985 for 31 BC and 1949 and 1996 for 27 BC) throughout his works.

¹² E.g. In England (King’s College London: History of the Roman Empire-31 BC to AD 400 - <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/humanities/depts/classics/current/ug/courses/year2-3/history/hi03.html>) and in America (University of Texas, Austin: Roman Imperial Art- <http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/ug08-10/ch11/ug08.cr11c.ahc-eco.html>).

¹³ E.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 10.

¹⁴ E.g. Earl 1968: 55-77 and Roddaz 2003: 410.

Flower’s 2010: 33 recent book on the Roman Republic also uses this date.

¹⁵ Syme 1939: 313.

¹⁶ Grenade 1961: 100-143.

¹⁷ Mommsen 1887-8: 2.745-58.

the consulship and received *maius imperium proconsulare* and *tribunicia potestas* for life. Then, in 19 BC, he was granted consular power for life at least in the view of some scholars. In fact, Dessau was the first to develop the idea of a crisis theory for the so-called First Settlement. He says that the events of 27 BC were inevitable on account of Octavian's refusal in 29/28 BC to allow M. Crassus to dedicate *spolia opima* after the killing of an enemy commander in his province of Macedonia.¹⁸ A standard view of the so-called Second Settlement is that it was the result of the trial of Primus and the conspiracy of Varro Murena and Fannius Caepio.¹⁹ It is the adherence to these crisis theories that has perhaps overemphasized and distorted the importance of the events of 27 and 23 BC. Salmon writes that "it is commonly believed that as a result of the settlements of 27, 23, and 19 BC, the Augustan Principate had virtually reached its final form."²⁰ According to Badian, 23 BC was the start of Augustus' Principate. He says that the consulship had to become accessible again and that this was the year when Augustus began the count of his tribunician power.²¹ 19 BC is the date preferred by Jones and Lacey.²² Lacey, who attributes the start date to 19 BC, says that by 16 BC the Principate was "well under way."²³ Lacey says that 19 BC marks the date when Augustus came to terms with the nobles of the Senate, the criterion he uses for the start of the Principate. For instance, he compares Augustus' *reditus* of 19 BC and the altar and festival of Fortuna Redux to the overall acceptance Tacitus describes in *Annales* 1.4.²⁴ Atkinson believes the foundation of the Augustan Principate was in 18 BC when the *lex Iulia de maiestate* was passed.²⁵ Another date to consider is AD 14 with the accession of Tiberius, which first demonstrated that the Principate was transmissible.

¹⁸ Dessau 1906: 142-151.

¹⁹ Badian 1982: 28.

²⁰ Salmon 1956: 473.

²¹ Badian 1982: 31-32.

²² Jones 1970: 62-77 and Lacey 1996: 132-153.

²³ Lacey 1996: 152.

²⁴ Lacey 1996: 132-33.

²⁵ Atkinson 1960: 459.

31 and 27 BC are the dates used not only by scholars writing on Augustan political and constitutional history, but also by scholars of Augustan art and archaeology. General studies on the art of the Roman Empire usually begin with either 31 or 27 BC.²⁶ Zanker's third chapter in his *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* deals with the Battle of Actium and is entitled "The Great Turning Point: Intimations of a New Imperial Style". Zanker particularly underscores the significance of the Actian victory. However, Walker and Burnett's *The Image of Augustus* favours 27 BC, as, for example, in their assertion that the bust of Augustus from Meroë "clearly derives from the type created after the principate was established in 27 BC."²⁷ In general, the favourite dates are 31 BC or 28/7 BC, both marking the start of personal dominance; some scholars with constitutional interest prefer 23 BC; 19 BC or even later are minority views.

Despite the ever-increasing number of contributions to this debate, it is striking that the numismatic evidence, which, unlike most of the written sources, is contemporaneous, is not cited often enough and has never before been discussed thoroughly in relation to this question. The most commonly used starting date in numismatic studies for Roman "imperial" coinage is 32 or 31 BC, using the Battle of Actium as the divide between Republic and Principate. Crawford ends his *RRC* in 31 BC. Sutherland begins his *RIC I*² in c. 32 BC while Mattingly starts his *BMCRE I* with 31 BC.²⁸ In contrast, the premise of this thesis is that the numismatic evidence can yield many insights into the transition from the Republic to the Principate if it is studied free of historical preconceptions about the starting dates of the Principate. Coinage is particularly valuable because it highlights the *auctoritas* of Augustus.²⁹ We should instead examine the typological changes or continuities that occurred in coinage of the

²⁶ E.g. Ward Perkins 1974: 63 and Claridge 1998: 11 in 31 BC; Hannested 1986: 40 and Ramage 1995: 14 in 27 BC.

²⁷ Walker and Burnett 1981b: 22.

²⁸ For further discussion on the classification of "Republican" vs. "imperial" coinage, see Chapter 1.1.

²⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1986 and Galinsky 1996: 28-41.

age of Octavian/Augustus and compare them to prior Republican coinage and other visual media in order to make an assessment of what the numismatic evidence can contribute to the history of the Augustan Principate and to see whether there is one clear watershed, or a series of changes, or a more complex, perhaps not unilinear, development.

INTRODUCTION 2: PLAN OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1 is methodological and re-examines the various current classifications of coinage in the Late Republic and the Augustan age. Traditionally coins are called “Republican” if they were minted prior to the Battle of Actium and “imperial” if they were minted afterward. Coins are also classified by issuing authority. From 83 BC to 32/31 BC coinage can be divided into two groups. The first is “Senatorial” coinage – gold, silver, and bronze coinage struck by the authority of the Senate. The second is “imperial” gold, silver, and bronze coinage struck by the *imperatores* in the provinces. From 32/31 BC, gold and silver coinage, struck by the authority of the Emperor, is called “imperial” and bronze coinage, struck by the authority of the Senate, is called “Senatorial”. I question the historical usefulness of these classifications and propose a more holistic approach founded on typological criteria.

Chapter 2 examines the Octavianic CAESAR DIVI F(ilius) and IMP(erator) CAESAR series of c. 32-27 BC as well as the other Octavianic coins minted from 29 BC to the so-called First Settlement of 27 BC that are currently classified as the first “imperial” Roman coins. Although these coins have been previously studied in great detail, their typology has not yet been sufficiently explained. What is more, their classification as “imperial” has not been questioned. I will analyze these coins by examining what changes, if any, occurred in typology and on legends in order to determine what traditions they drew on, and what, if anything, was innovative.

Chapter 3 focuses on the coins minted in Rome from 23 BC to 12 BC. The mint at Rome, having been closed since 40 BC, reopened and issued gold, silver, and bronze coins that were struck by the *tresviri monetales*. Although it is included in standard numismatic catalogues of “imperial” Roman coinage, it is referred to in these catalogues as “Senatorial” because its coins were explicitly struck by the *tresviri monetales*. The general consensus of scholars is to trace a gradual typological development from strictly “Republican” types of 19 BC to “transitional” types in 16 BC and then to purely “imperial” types in 13-12 BC. The use of “honorific” types and the increase in the use of legends on coins of 19-16 BC will be particularly explored. A close examination of these coins will thus determine whether this schema will suffice to describe the typological pattern of the Roman mint during the age of Augustus.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the introduction of two new typological categories into the typological inventory of Roman coinage. Chapter 4, with its focus on the Mars Ultor and “vota” coins of c. 19-16 BC, is thus a discussion of the entry of “anticipatory” types into Roman coinage, that is, types anticipating an accomplishment or an event; in short, types devoted to some aspect of Rome’s future. Chapter 5 is a study of the entry of living members of the *domus Augusti* into Roman numismatic iconography. Not only do types of the *domus Augusti* represent common ground between “mainstream” and “provincial” coinage, that is, the *domus Augusti* is the one numismatic theme that appears on Augustan coins catalogued both in *RIC 1*² and in *RPC 1*, but also become a permanent fixture of post-Augustan coinage.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEMS OF CLASSIFICATION

1.1 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN “REPUBLICAN” AND “IMPERIAL” COINAGE

Roman coins are classified as either “Republican” or “imperial” according to their date. Numismatists follow the scholarly tradition to mark the division between the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire with the beginning of the Augustan Principate either in 32/31 BC or 27 BC, and so entitle all catalogues of Roman coins minted after 32/31 BC or 29 BC as “imperial”. The traditional catalogues comprising Roman “imperial” coinage are the *BMCRE 1*, *Roman Imperial Coinage 1*, *HCC 1*, the *AMCRE 1*, *CBN 1*, and *Roman Imperial Coinage 1*². Conversely, “imperial” coinage does not include the coins found in Sydenham’s *Coins of the Roman Republic* and Crawford’s *Roman Republican Coinage*. Sutherland’s *RIC 1*² dates the beginning of “imperial” coinage to c. 32 BC. In the preface to Mattingly’s *BMCRE 1*, Hill writes that “the Battle of Actium appears convenient as the starting point for the Imperial series”.³⁰ In the *AMCRE 1*, Sutherland and Kraay take Actium as the initial date and say “with the obliteration of the last vestiges of the Second Triumvirate, the sole *principatus* had begun.”³¹ Giard, following Kraft’s dating of the CAESAR DIVI F(ilius) and IMP(erator) CAESAR *aurei* and *denarii* to 29 BC, begins his catalogue of “imperial” coinage with these two series of coins.³² In *RIC 1*, “imperial” coinage proper begins in 27 BC.³³ A couple of other dates for the start of “imperial” coinage are worth

³⁰ *BMCRE 1*: v.

³¹ *AMCRE 1*: v.

³² See Kraft 1969.

³³ “Imperial” coinage proper is a rather curious phrase. In *Roman Imperial Coinage 1*, a section entitled “pre-imperial” coinage precedes the section on “imperial” coinage proper. It includes the coinage of L. Pinarius Scarpus dated to 30-29 BC. However, all other Octavianic coins minted from 30 BC to 27 BC are listed as “imperial”.

mentioning. Mommsen dates the beginning of “imperial” coinage to 15 BC when he believed the Senate ceased minting gold and silver in Rome.³⁴ The actual date for this cessation, however, remains a matter of controversy.³⁵ In the introduction to his *British Museum Coins of the Roman Republic*, Grueber suggests that “imperial” coinage began in 36 BC on the assumption that there was a Senatorial decree that allowed Octavian to mint gold and silver with his own portrait in Rome, that is, with the CAESAR DIVI F series of that year. In his catalogue, however, he does not list coins as “imperial” until 3 BC when the name of moneyers on coins minted in Rome ceases for good. There is in fact no evidence for such a decree.³⁶

1.2 THE DISTINCTION IN THE PRINCIPATE BETWEEN “IMPERIAL” AND “SENATORIAL” COINAGE

Roman coins are classified as either “imperial” or “Senatorial” according to their metal, denomination, and issuing authority. A coin is “imperial” if it is gold or silver. A coin is “Senatorial” if it is bronze.³⁷ A coin is “imperial” if it is a gold *aureus* or *quinarius*, or a silver *denarius* or *quinarius*. A coin is “Senatorial” if it is an orichalcum *sestertius* or *dupondius*, or a copper *as*, *semisses*, or *quadrans*. A coin is “imperial” if it was struck by the authority of the Emperor, and “Senatorial” if it was struck by the authority of the Senate by the *tresviri monetales aere argento auro flando feriundo*; that is, a “Senatorial” coin bears the legend S(enatus) C(onsulto) and/or the name of one of the *tresviri monetales*. All other coins circulating throughout the empire are “imperial”.

³⁴ Mommsen 1865: 3.9.

³⁵ The end of the minting of gold and silver coinage in Rome is generally dated to 13-12 BC. Pink 1946 and Panvini Rosati 1951 date the last issues to 13 BC. Most numismatists, however, employ 12 BC as the end date (e.g. Mattingly (*BMCRR I*: 124-133), Sutherland (*RIC I*² 412-419), Fullerton 1985, and Wallace-Hadrill 1986).

³⁶ *BMCRR I*: c. It should be noted that Grueber mentions that “it was in the following year [i.e. after 3 BC] that Augustus received the title of *Pater Patriae*, a dignity which was only compatible with full monarchical power” (*BMCRR I*: lxix).

³⁷ The term *aes* can be used interchangeably with bronze.

Thus, by general rule, all gold and silver coinage is “imperial” and all bronze is “Senatorial”. There are a couple of exceptions to this rule. There are series of *aes* coins listed in Roman “imperial” catalogues that are not classified as “Senatorial”. These are the *aes* minted from (1) Pergamum in 28-15 BC with C(ommune) A(siae) reverses, (2) Emerita in 25-23 BC, (3) Nemausus in 20-10 BC with COL(onia) NEM(ausus) reverses, and (4) Lugdunum in 15-10 BC and AD 9-14 with ROM(a) ET AVG(ustus) Altar reverses.³⁸ Another exception is the gold and silver coinage minted in Rome from 19 BC to 12 BC. These coins, each bearing the name of a *triumvir monetalis*, are classified as “Senatorial”.³⁹ For instance, all the coinage minted in Rome under Augustus is called “Senatorial” in *Roman Imperial Coinage 1*. This division between metals and denominations derives from Mommsen’s theory of the Principate as a dyarchy between the Emperor and the Senate. Mommsen believed that the gold and silver coinage was controlled by the Emperor while bronze coinage was controlled by the Senate.⁴⁰ Mattingly adopted this dual division for all of his *BMCRE* volumes, and it has, in one form or another, influenced the interpretation of coins bearing SC and/or the name of a *triumvir monetalis*. Indeed, Mommsen’s theory of dyarchy is no longer accepted generally by historians.⁴¹ Grant and Kraft are possibly the greatest enemies of the Mommsenian theory of dyarchy as it relates to numismatics. In his 1950 review of Mattingly’s *BMCRE 5*, which is also applicable to *BMCRE 1*, Grant asserts against Mattingly that *aurei* and *denarii* are no more dissimilar to the *aes* coinage than the types of gold are dissimilar from the types of silver. Kraft’s theory is that the SC on *aes* minted in Rome does not mean “struck by the decree of the Senate”, but “honour in the

³⁸ *RIC I*² 495-504, 11-25, 154-161, and 228-248b.

The reason for the classification of these coins as “imperial” is discussed in Section 1.3, below.

³⁹ *RIC I*² 278-419.

The Neronian gold and silver coins minted in Rome from AD 54 to AD 63-64 bear the reverse legend EX SC. They are also classified as “Senatorial” (*RIC I*²: Nero 135 and 150-152).

⁴⁰ Mommsen 1887-8: 2.1025-1028 and 3.1146.

⁴¹ E.g. Syme 1939 and *CAH X*² 1996: 123.

form of the object (e.g. the *corona civica*) bestowed on the Emperor by that decree”.⁴²

Kraft’s analysis has been only partially accepted. Most scholars agree with Kraft’s views against any form of a dyarchy. His interpretation of the SC legend as a reference to type-content, however, has not been so readily received. Three objections have been pointed out. He limits his study to *aes* minted only in Rome. SC cannot refer to type-content as gold and silver coins without SC also depict the same objects (e.g. the *corona civica*) as the *aes*. The SC found on *quadrantes* has no relation to the iconography depicted – e.g. a cornucopia or clasped hands holding a caduceus.⁴³ Thus, the meaning of SC still remains controversial for those who are in concord with Kraft’s criticism of any type of dyarchy. A couple of suggestions have been proposed recently, but none has been universally accepted. For instance, Bay suggests that the SC refers to the Augustus’ reform of bronze coinage. This was a reform of metals, with the introduction of the use of orichalcum for *sestertii* and *dupondii* and copper for *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes*. Bay attributes the reform to the re-opening of the mint in Rome and dates it to 19 BC. The objections to this theory are twofold. Augustus already introduced this reform in 28 BC with the minting of the CA *aes* in Pergamum. SC does not appear on the earliest *aes* coins that were issued when the mint in Rome reopened, the Numa *asses*.⁴⁴ Wallace-Hadrill suggests that the legend SC was employed to distinguish Roman bronze coins from other bronze coins of the Mediterranean world.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, some scholars strongly adhere to the dichotomy between “imperial” and “Senatorial” coinage. Confusion arises when reading some of Sutherland’s work. For instance, in an article of 1943 entitled “Senatorial Gold and Silver Coinage of 16 BC”,

⁴² Grant 1950b: 163 and Kraft 1962.

⁴³ E.g. Bay 1972: 111-112, Burnett 1977: 45, and Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 77.

It should be noted that Sutherland 1965 employs Kraft’s analysis for his own interpretation of the CA and ROM ET AVG Altar *aes*. He suggests these series referred to the honors granted to Augustus being either given or commemorated by the Commune Asiae or the *concilium Galliarum*.

⁴⁴ Burnett 1977: 45-46 and Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 81-82.

It should be noted that the re-opening of the mint at Rome is generally believed to have taken place in 23 BC (e.g. Mattingly *BMCRE 1*: p.28, Burnett 1977: 51, Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 82-83, and Galinsky 1996: 34-37).

⁴⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 81-83.

Sutherland calls the coins of the Roman moneyers of 16 BC “Senatorial”, but admits they are “imperial” in their iconographical content.⁴⁶ Burnett has in fact even revived the dyarchic theory of dual control of minting. In an article of 1977 he writes: “as other interpretations of SC are unsatisfactory, we should revert to Mommsen’s: ‘struck by the authority of the Senate’.”⁴⁷

1.3 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN “IMPERIAL” / “SENATORIAL” AND “PROVINCIAL” COINAGE

Roman “provincial” coinage is defined generally as all coins which are not “imperial”. The preface to *Roman Provincial Coinage 1* begins like this: “*Roman Provincial Coinage* is intended to provide a reconstruction of the coinage minted in the provinces of the Roman Empire; roughly speaking it aims to include everything which is not in *RIC*.”⁴⁸ In this sense, “imperial” and “Senatorial” coinage are grouped together so as to remain distinct from “provincial” coinage. Early numismatic catalogues such as the *BMCRE 1* and *Roman Imperial Coinage 1* listed the *cistophori* and the series of *aes* coins mentioned in Section 1.2 as “provincial”. Mattingly defines “provincial” as “struck in a province” as opposed to “limited in circulation to one province”.⁴⁹ Here the classification is made by the location of the mint. In his 1946 *From Imperium to Auctoritas* and his 1953 *Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, Grant suggests that coins should be classified by extent of circulation and proposes the terms (1) “official-imperial”, (2) “official-provincial”, and (3) “local”. In the former work, he criticizes the way earlier numismatists treated and catalogued *aes* coinage. As Salmon recognized in his review of *FITA*, before Grant only one-fifth of the 340 bronze series that are covered

⁴⁶ Sutherland 1943: 42.

⁴⁷ Burnett 1977: 52.

⁴⁸ *RPC 1*: xiii.

⁴⁹ Mattingly 1917: 60.

in this volume had been correctly identified and attributed.⁵⁰ In the latter work, Grant argues that six series of *aes* coinage, including the CA, COL NEM, and the ROM ET AVG Altar coins, should be classified as “official-imperial”. Here the criterion he employs is the extent of circulation. According to Grant, “official” coinage is coinage issued by the “representatives of the Roman *res publica*, that is, by the officials who acted, or claimed to act, on its behalf.”⁵¹ “Local” coinage is the coinage of the governments of provincial cities singly or in groups as well as coinage of allied tribes. “Official-imperial” comprises both “imperial” and “Senatorial” coinage. The distinction between “official-imperial” and “official-provincial” coinage is again extent of circulation. “Official-imperial” coins are those coins which circulated throughout the empire whereas “official-provincial” coins circulated in a single province only, or part of a single province.⁵² Thus, the first part of *FITA* discusses “official” coinage. The other two parts discuss “local” coinage. Part 2 treats the coinages of *municipia* and *colonia* (e.g. foundation coinages that celebrated on the behalf of the Roman state the foundation of citizen colonies), and the third part the coinage of peregrine communities.⁵³

1.4 “IMPERATORIAL” COINAGE

“Imperial” coinage crosses boundaries between “Republican” and “imperial” coinage. “Republican” coinage from 83 BC to 32/31 BC has been divided into two groups: (1) “Senatorial” coinage minted by the Senate in Rome and (2) “imperial” coinage minted by military commanders in the provinces. These “Senatorial” issues,

⁵⁰ Salmon 1948: 56.

⁵¹ Grant 1946: 1.

⁵² Grant 1954: 87 even has a sub-category of “official-provincial” coinage called “more normal provincial coinage”. In this category, for instance, he places the coin of M. Acilius Glabrio, a proconsul minting in Africa in 25 BC, which depicts the bust of Augustus with Victory advancing on the obverse and busts of Marcellus, right, and Julia, left, on the reverse – *RPC I*: 5414.

⁵³ It should be noted, however, that *municipia* and *colonia* are part of the Roman state.

minted by the *tresviri monetales*, can be divided into two groups: (1) “consular” coinage, that is, unsigned coins assigned to the jurisdiction of consuls, and (2) “family” coinage, that is, signed coins of Roman moneyers. Some “Senatorial” issues were not minted by the *tresviri monetales*, but by extraordinary moneyers such as praetors; these issues, which bear the legend EX SC, are called “special” or “emergency” issues.⁵⁴ “Imperial” coins can be divided into three groups: (1) those struck by a general in exercise of his *imperium* which bear his name only, (2) those which bear his name, and also that of the officer to whom he delegated his authority, and (3) those which bear only the name of the officer to whom he delegated his authority.⁵⁵ The first of these coins were minted for L. Sulla in the East in 83 BC, by C. Valerius Flaccus in Gaul in 82 BC, L. Manlius in 82 BC (for Sulla), C. Annius Luscus in Italy and Spain in 82-81 BC, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius in Italy in 81 BC, and A. Manlius in 80 BC (for Sulla).⁵⁶ These coins first bear SC, but then the SC is dropped from the legend. Mattingly believes this is because once the Senate’s control of coinage was removed, it was never restored.⁵⁷ The term “imperial” for coinage from 83 BC to 32/31 BC is used by the majority of numismatists other than Grueber and Mattingly, such as Sutherland, Grant, and the authors of *RPC 1*. Newman’s 1990 article on the coinage of Octavian and Antony is called an “imperial dialogue”. Mannsperger divides the Roman mint of the year 44 BC into a “Senatorial” mint and an “imperial” mint in the name of Caesar.⁵⁸ Sear advocates the term “imperial” with his *History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors: 49-27 BC*. In his 2003 *Arma et Nummi*, Woytek uses the term “imperial” mint. “Imperial” coinage is also synonymous to “proconsular” coinage for numismatists such as Mattingly and Burnett.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ E.g. Sear 1998: 195-196.

⁵⁵ *BMCRR 1*: lxxiv.

⁵⁶ *RRC* 359, 365, 367, 366, 374, and 381.

⁵⁷ Mattingly 1919: 225.

⁵⁸ Mannsperger 1991: 352-353.

⁵⁹ Mattingly 1967: 34 and Burnett 1977: 57.

What is of greatest interest here is that the employment of the term “imperatorial” does not end with the traditional start of “imperial” coinage. In his 1920 article, Sydenham merges the mints of Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia in Spain into one mint and calls this an “imperatorial” mint.⁶⁰ In *RIC I*², Sutherland says that “the power of the Republican *imperatores* to coin in their own *provincia* was now vested in the new *imperatores* – the *principes*- who possessed supreme *imperium*, or military power.”⁶¹ In his section entitled “Principal imperial mints” in the general introduction to his *RIC I*², Sutherland calls gold, silver, and *cistophoric* coins “imperatorial” or of an “imperatorial nature”. In fact, he follows this same terminology for the coinage of the subsequent emperors under this section.⁶² For instance, he points out that Augustus minted coins in Emerita in 25-23 BC as an *imperator*.⁶³ Returning to the link between “imperatorial” and “proconsular” coinage, it is important to note Burnett’s idea that “proconsular” coinage was an important precedent for “imperial” coinage. He suggests that it was by his proconsular *imperium* that Augustus controlled gold and silver coinage in the West. Moreover, he calls the coinage that was minted in Rome until Augustus’ resignation of his consulship in June 23 BC “consular” coinage. Burnett gives three examples of this “consular” coinage: the Octavianic CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series that he suggests were minted in Rome, the Numa *asses* that were minted prior to June 23 BC, and the gold and silver coins of 19-12 BC.⁶⁴ The discrepancy between the term “imperial” and “imperatorial” can also be seen in the designation of mints. The “imperial” mint in the Augustan age is traditionally said to have been founded in 15 BC in Lugdunum. In *Roman Imperial Coinage 1*, Mattingly and Sydenham call the mint from Spain an “imperatorial” mint because this mint moved

⁶⁰ Sydenham 1920: 18.

It should also be noted that he dates the coins of this mint from 21 BC to 15 BC. These coins are now unanimously dated from 19 BC to 16 BC (e.g. *RIC I*² 26a-153).

⁶¹ *RIC I*²: 2.

⁶² *RIC I*²: 5-7.

⁶³ Sutherland 1976b: 23.

See Grant 1946:119-121 who also calls these coins “imperatorial”.

⁶⁴ Burnett 1977: 60.

around from place to place or was working in two places, whereas the “imperial” mint at Lugdunum was established at one fixed location.⁶⁵ One might think that if the stability of mints was the criterion for classification, the term “imperial” could not be used for the coinage from Lugdunum or any coinage minted after AD 14, but as seen above, “imperial” gold and silver and coinage of an “imperial” nature are seen throughout all of the “Principal imperial mints” section in the *RIC I*².

1.5 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN “IMPERIAL” AND “STATE” COINAGE, AND “PROVINCIAL” AND “REGIONAL” COINAGE

Sutherland and Kraay were the first to attempt a system of classification for the coinage minted in the whole Roman Empire during the Augustan age in one catalogue, but I think that their system raises more problems than it solves.⁶⁶ To begin with, they divide coins into four groups: (1) coinages of the “state”, (2) “regional” coins, (3) “regal and dynastic” coinages, and (4) “civic” coins. “Regal and dynastic” coins are those coins minted by the kings of Thrace, the Bosphorus, and Mauretania. “Civic” coins are synonymous to “local” coins, that is, coinage produced for individual cities. “State” coinage is gold and silver coinage, while “regional” coins are *aes* from Rome, Emerita, Lugdunum, Nemausus, and Antioch as well as *cistophoric* coinage.⁶⁷ No explanation is given as to why they use the terms “state” coinage instead of “imperial” or “regional” instead of “provincial”. It was not until his 1976 *Emperor and the Coinage* that Sutherland explains his view that the “Senatorial” coinage of the Republic was “state” coinage, and so, in the same way, “imperial” coinage was “state” coinage. He also explains here that the *aes* and *cistophori* had a much greater circulation than a merely

⁶⁵ *RIC I*: p.65-82.

⁶⁶ See Section 1.7, below.

⁶⁷ “Regional” coinage in the *AMCRE I* also includes issues from Lycia, Cyprus, Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt.

“provincial” coinage, and they had an important “regional” purpose. He is right to say that terms such as “official” and “provincial” are modern descriptive terms given to coinage.⁶⁸ In a subsequent article, however, he writes:

As a distinguishing term, the adjective imperial is a modern concept for which there was almost certainly no matching idea, relative to coinage in the Roman Empire. It is possible that, if there was a distinction in the mind of the average man, he would have been aware of “state coinages” of gold and silver for empire-wide circulation in contrast to the geographically more restricted “regional” and “civic” coinages of which there were so many.⁶⁹

The term “imperial” is still used by Sutherland in his *RIC I*² where “imperial” and “state” are interchangeable, and, as has been discussed above, “imperial” is synonymous to “imperial”. In fact, if one rereads his *Emperor and the Coinage* after reading this statement, his view that Caesar’s coinage in Rome “was an imperial coinage in any real sense of the phrase, ancient or modern” seems rather confusing.⁷⁰ Moreover, employing such terms as “state” and “regional” are just as modern as “official” and “provincial”. Indeed, Sutherland’s term of “state” coinage is synonymous to Grant’s term of “official-imperial”, that is, coinage of the Roman state and its representatives that circulated in both the East and the West.

1.6 OTHER MEANS OF CLASSIFICATION

Two other ways have been used to classify coins of this period: intended audience and the portrayal of living persons on the obverses. The group of coins minted from 83 BC to 32/31 BC, called “provincial” by Grueber and Mattingly, is also called “military” by Grueber because these coins were minted for armies in the field.⁷¹ This term is used by such numismatists as Mattingly, Sydenham, Crawford, and Sear.⁷² It is applied to

⁶⁸ Sutherland 1976b: 14.

⁶⁹ Sutherland 1978: 173.

⁷⁰ Sutherland 1976b: 10.

⁷¹ *BMCR* 2: p.340.

⁷² E.g. Mattingly 1919, Sydenham 1920, *CRR*, *RRC*, and *HCRI*.

the mints that issued these coins as well: as there are “provincial, military” coins, there are corresponding “provincial, military” mints. In the *Coins of the Roman Republic* and the *History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors: 49-27 BC*, for instance, coins are catalogued as either “regular issues of Roman moneyers” or “military issues” of Julius Caesar, Antony, Octavian, and so on. Grueber believes that the innovation of portraiture of living persons on the obverses that first occurred in 44 BC with the depiction of Caesar’s portrait on coins minted in Rome was “an act of imperialism not all together compatible with democratic views or Republican principles professed by those who chose this form of illustration on their money.”⁷³ Grueber goes on to say that the exchange of the Roman moneyers’ names in 36 BC for that of Octavian “deprived [the coin] of its republican element and [rendered] it imperial”, and that the portrait of Octavian as Caesar or Augustus gave the coin a “regal or imperial nature”.⁷⁴ Other numismatists have followed in Grueber’s footsteps. Mattingly says that when the portrait of the triumvir monopolized the obverse the coin became essentially imperial, not Republican.⁷⁵ Crawford begins his section entitled “Approach to Empire” in his *RRC* with this statement:

And only with the death of Caesar was the final step taken in the transition from a republican to a dynastic coinage, decorated or perhaps disfigured by the heads, first of Antonius, then of other leaders, Caesarians and Liberators alike, eventually even of Cleopatra.⁷⁶

To summarize, the various classifications of coinage minted in the Late Republic and the Augustan age are the following. Classifications can be made by date: if a coin was minted prior to the Battle of Actium, it is “Republican” and if it was minted afterwards, it is “imperial”. Coins are classified by metal – gold and silver (“imperial”) or bronze (“Senatorial”) – or by denomination – *aureus*, *denarius*, and

⁷³ *BMCRR 1*: lix.

⁷⁴ *BMCRR 2*: p.2 and 345.

⁷⁵ Mattingly 1919: 230.

⁷⁶ *RRC*: p.735.

quinarius (“imperial”) or *sestertius*, *dupondius*, *as*, *semisses*, and *quadrans* (“Senatorial”). Classification by location of mint results in two groups of coinage: (1) urban, city, or metropolitan (coins minted in Rome) and (2) provincial (here referring to coins “struck in a province” as opposed to coins “limited to one particular province”). Under classification by extent of circulation, coins can either have an empire-wide circulation (i.e. gold and silver “imperial” coinage) or a “provincial” or “regional” circulation (i.e. bronze coinage). If one follows Grant, this bronze coinage is “provincial”, that is, coinage circulating in a single province or part of a province. If one follows Sutherland, this coinage (including *cistophoric* coins) is called “regional”, that is, coins having a “regional” circulation. Numerous divisions occur under classification by issuing authority. From 83 BC to 32/31 BC, coinage can be divided into two groups. The first is “Senatorial” coinage – gold, silver, and bronze coinage struck by the authority of the Senate. This group can be further divided into two sections: (1) “consular” coinage (unsigned coins assigned to the jurisdiction of consuls) and (2) “family” coinage (signed coins of Roman moneyers). These two divisions of “consular” and “family” coinage are also employed for coinage of the third and second centuries BC minted in Rome. The second is “imperial” gold, silver, and bronze struck by authority of *imperatores* in the provinces. “Imperial” coinage can be further divided into “proconsular”, “imperial”, or “triumviral” coinages depending on how the coin is signed, such as PRO COS for “proconsular” coinage, IMP for “imperial” coinage, and III VIR for “triumviral” coinage. From 32/31 BC, coins by issuing authority are divided into “imperial” coinage and “Senatorial” coinage. “Imperial” gold and silver (struck by the authority of the Emperor): can be further subdivided: (1) “imperial” (struck by Octavian/Augustus in his quality of *imperator*) as designated by Sutherland, for instance, for all gold and silver under his section entitled “Principal imperial mints” in his general introduction to *RIC I*², (2)

“consular” (struck by Octavian/Augustus in his quality of consul) as designated by Burnett for gold, silver and bronze (bronze minted until his resignation of the consulship in June of 23 BC) minted in Rome , and (3) “proconsular” (struck by Octavian/Augustus in his quality of proconsul) as designated by Burnett for gold and silver minted outside of Rome. Coinage can also be classified by intended audience. “Military” coinage is the term given to coinage minted in the provinces in the late first century BC and is equivalent to all “imperial” coinage minted in the provinces as well as to “provincial” coinage when employed in the way that Grueber and Mattingly use this particular term. Coinage may also be classified by such means as portraiture. For instance, the innovation of the portraiture of living persons that began with Caesar in 44 BC marked the emergence of “imperial” coinage for Grueber and Mattingly. The problems with these classifications and/or terminology are threefold. Some of these classifications are based solely on historical preconceptions. Coinage minted in the provinces from 83 BC to 32/31 BC is called “imperial” coinage because this time period in Roman history is known as the “imperial” period. Coinage minted after 32/31 BC is listed as “imperial” following the scholarly tradition to date the divide between the Republic and Principate to the Battle of Actium. Some terms use empty labels. For instance, “official” or “state” coinage does not provide any more information than that these coins were minted by (officials of) the Roman state. In this sense, “official” or “state” coinage can refer to coinage minted at any time period in Roman history. Numerous crossovers occur among these terms. For instance, “provincial” coinage can refer to the location of mint or to the extent of circulation. Crawford uses the term “dynastic” for coinage minted by members of the Second Triumvirate as well as the Liberators while Sutherland and Kraay use it to refer to the coinage of the kings of Thrace, Bosphorus, and Mauretania. The most complex of these crossovers is the one between “imperial” and “imperial” coinage.

1.7 NEW CRITERIA FOR CATALOGUING AND CLASSIFICATION

The classification of these coins must be re-examined. In reclassifying them, the current organization of numismatic catalogues must also be re-examined. The format and scope employed in any numismatic catalogue affects the interpretation of the coins. A brief survey of the development of cataloguing will illustrate this point. The formats of these catalogues are the following. In his *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, Cohen arranged coins first by metal and then in alphabetical order of the reverse legends. In his *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine*, Babelon's arrangement of coins is alphabetical by family name with the coins under any given family name listed chronologically. Banti and Simonetti employ the same approach for their *CNR* as Babelon. Sydenham, in his *CRR*, and Crawford, in his *RRC*, arrange coins first by general chronology and then by issuing authority. Sydenham, for instance, divides his catalogue into nine different chronological periods and within each of these periods arranges coins into different series according to issuing authority. Each series of an issuing authority is then subdivided into different sections by mint (listed from West to East) with corresponding coins catalogued chronologically. Grueber's *BMCR*, Mattingly's *BMCRE 1*, Mattingly and Sydenham's *RIC 1*, Robertson's *HCC 1*, Sutherland and Kraay's *AMCRE 1*, Giard's *CBN 1*, Sutherland's *RIC 1²*, and Burnett's, Amandry's, and Ripollès' *RPC 1* are all organized first by mint and then by date. Mattingly and Sydenham's catalogue begins with coinage minted in the East, then moves to Rome, Spain, and finally to Gaul. The *BMCR*, *BMCRE 1*, and the *HCC 1* begin with Rome, move to Spain, Gaul, and then to the East. The *CBN 1* also begins with Rome, but moves from Cyrenaica, to Asia, and then to Spain and Gaul. The *AMCRE 1*, *RIC 1²*, and the *RPC 1* move from West to East. In *RPC 1*, for instance,

within each province cities are listed from West to East.⁷⁷ Sear's *HCRI* arranges coins first by issuing authority and then catalogues the corresponding coins chronologically. The scope of these catalogues is the following. Cohen's catalogue begins with the coins of Pompey and also includes some coins that are designated by Grant as "official" coinage in his *FITA*.⁷⁸ Babelon's catalogue comprises coins from the third century BC down to 27 BC as well as coins minted from 23 BC to 4 BC in Rome. It also includes some of *FITA*'s "official" coins. Sydenham and Crawford include coins from the third century BC to either 28 BC (Sydenham) or 31 BC (Crawford) and list some of Grant's "official" *aes*. Crawford ends his catalogue with 31 BC but does not include any of Octavian's CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins that began to be minted c. 32 BC. He also does not, for instance, catalogue Antony's *cistophori* or his bronze "fleet" coinage.⁷⁹ The *RIC 1*, *BMCRE 1*, *HCC 1*, *CBN 1*, and the *RIC I*² all begin with this CAESAR DIVI F series dated either to c. 32 BC (*RIC I*²), 31 BC (*BMCRE 1*, *HCC 1*), 30 BC (*RIC 1*), or 29 BC (*CBN 1*). These catalogues as a rule list those coins of the Roman Empire other than "Greek Imperial", that is, all the coins which are not listed in *RPC 1*.⁸⁰ The *RPC 1* then begins with coins minted between Caesar's death in 44 BC and the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. It lists coinage of all the cities of the provinces in the Roman Empire. Sear's *HCRI* catalogues coins from 49-27 BC and includes corresponding coins from the *RRC*, *RIC I*², and the *RPC 1*. Sutherland and Kraay's catalogue comprises the majority of all the issues found in the *RIC I*² and *RPC 1* for the Augustan age (excluding all Octavianic coins before c. 31 BC).

⁷⁷ For further reference about the debate concerning the geographical arrangements in numismatic cataloguing, see *RPC 1*: xiv-xvi.

⁷⁸ I am here, for the sake of clarity at the present moment, referring to these "provincial" issues as "official-provincial" in accordance with Grant since I do believe that these coins should be listed together with Grant's "official-imperial" coinage. However, as discussed above, the term "official" is problematic.

⁷⁹ These coins can, however be found in Sydenham's *CRR*: 1197-8 and 1254-1270.

⁸⁰ As *RPC 1* states that the classification of coins as "Greek Imperial" is synonymous to and is now called "Roman Provincial": xv.

It should be noted that for some odd reason Robertson chooses to exclude the COL NEM *aes* of Nemausus from her catalogue while she includes the "imperial" *aes* coinage from Lugdunum (*HCC 1*: ix).

These monumental works are obviously of great use and will stand the test of time. Babelon's catalogue and the *CNR* are useful for studying the development of any given family's coinage. The *BMCR*, *BMCRE 1*, *RIC 1*, *HCC 1*, *AMCRE 1*, *CBN 1*, *RIC I*², and the *RPC 1* are all useful for studying the development of any given mint's coinage. However, the present formats, scopes, and classifications do not help to provide a clear, continuous, and systematic picture of all the coinage of the Augustan age that could better illustrate the transition between the Republic and Principate.

In terms of formatting, none of these catalogues lists all the coins minted in any given year or time period in any given place, although some improvements have been made since Mattingly's *BMCRE 1*. In the *BMCRE 1*, Mattingly makes a dual division between gold and silver coinage on the one hand and bronze coinage on the other for each mint. He first lists all the gold and silver issued for any given mint in chronological order and then repeats the same procedure for the *aes* coinage from the same exact mint. Moreover, the layout of his plates follows the same idea – first, all the gold and silver from all the mints are illustrated, then the *cistophori*, and then the *aes*. This format is clearly the result of Mattingly's adherence to the Mommsenian theory of dyarchy to classify these coins. In his 1950 review of *BMCRE 5*, Grant suggests that “it would have been better if all the types at any one mint in any one year or time period could have been dealt with together denomination by denomination.”⁸¹ The *HCC 1*, *CBN 1*, and the *RIC I*² now illustrate gold, silver, and bronze coins on the same plates. The solution that Grant urged can now be seen in *RIC I*². However, as discussed before, the *AMCRE 1* divides coins into four sections: (1) coinage of the “state”, (2) “regional coins”, (3) “regal, dynastic coins”, and (4) “civic coins”. One of the most significant problems with this system of formatting is the separation of the “regional” *aes* and *cistophori* from the gold and silver coinage of the “state”. This division echoes

⁸¹ Grant 1950b: 163.

the dual distinction that is present in Mattingly's *BMCRE 1* and downplays the importance of these *aes* and *cistophori*. Another problem is that the discussion of the obverses and reverses are divided in the introduction to most catalogues (e.g. *BMCRR*, *BMCRE 1*, and the *RIC 1*²). The structure of listing obverses and reverses in the catalogue portion of the *RIC 1*² is quite perplexing and time-consuming for the reader. For each year or time period, Sutherland lists the *aurei* and *denarii* in one section and the *aes* or *cistophori* in another. In each individual section, he then lists the obverses and reverses separately. Moreover, he lists all the obverse legends of an individual section of, for instance, *aurei* and *denarii* in one group that is marked numerically and then lists the obverse head or type in another group that is marked alphabetically. He gives the reverse legend and type as the main catalogue entry and with each of these entries provides a number and letter to refer back to the corresponding obverse legend and head or type. Sear's *HCRI* does not provide a continuous list of all the coins of any one issuing authority. The chapters which comprise his book are divided into six historical time periods with a corresponding historical commentary and coin catalogue. Not only does one have to leaf through the entire book to obtain a chronological list of any given issuing authority but also for all the coins minted in any given year. Only Appendix I, entitled "A Chronological Conspectus", lists all the issues minted in any given year that are discussed in the main text while listing other coinages found in *RPC 1* that are chronologically relevant in Appendix II. In terms of scope, none of these catalogues comprises all the coinage minted from the beginning of the Second Triumvirate in 43 BC to the succession of Tiberius in AD 14. They all make a clear distinction between the Octavianic and Augustan phases of coinage despite the fact that Roman "imperial" coinage traditionally begins in 32/31 BC. In terms of the range of coinage that should be catalogued, the *AMCRE 1* "heralds the future; but it should be a future of type catalogues."⁸² This idea has already been suggested by Babelon in his

⁸² Burnett 1978: 175.

review of Imhoof-Blumer's *Die antiken Münzen Nord-griechenlands* in which he discusses the idea of the publication of a global catalogue, and by such numismatists as Robertson in the introduction to her catalogue.⁸³ However, while attempting to be a complete conspectus of the coinage of the Augustan age, the *AMCRE 1* does not include all Octavianic coinage and, since it is obviously only one museum's collection, does not list all the types minted during this time period.

Another problem concerning the scope of coinage covered in these catalogues can be pointed out. This is the use of the title "Coins of the Roman Empire". Since the term "Roman Empire" sometimes refers to the power or government or authority of the Roman state, two different catalogues entitled "Coins of the Roman Empire" do not necessarily list the same coins. For instance, Mattingly's catalogue, the *British Museum Coins of the Roman Empire 1*, does not comprise the coinage of all the cities of the Roman Empire because Mattingly is employing the term "Roman Empire" to refer to the central Roman government. On the other hand, Sutherland and Kraay refer to the "Roman Empire" in geographical terms and their catalogue, the *Ashmolean Museum Coins of the Roman Empire 1*, comprises all the coinage of the central Roman government and the cities of the Roman Empire.⁸⁴

A striking symptom of the problems with all these various classifications is the reappearance of some coins in different catalogues. In his *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine*, Babelon includes some "imperial" coins. In his *British Museum Coins of the Roman Republic*, Grueber lists coins from Rome as "Republican" down to 3 BC that are otherwise catalogued as "imperial". The Augustan *cistophori* catalogued in Roman "imperial" catalogues also appear as "provincial" coins in *Roman Provincial Coinage 1* as well as the COL NEM

In fact, the *BMCR*, *BMCRE 1*, *HCC 1*, and the *CBN 1* are all strictly museum catalogues.

⁸³ Babelon 1899 and *HCC 1*: xii.

⁸⁴ For further reference on the discrepancy of the term "Roman Empire", see, for instance, Richardson 1991 and Stanton 1993: 286-287.

coinage of Neamausus, the CA coinage from Pergamum, and the SC coinage of Antioch. The CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series as well as the other Octavianic coins minted from 29 BC to the so-called First Settlement of 27 BC, traditionally catalogued as the first Roman “imperial” coins, are listed in Sear’s *History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors: 49-27 BC* as “imperial” coinage.

It is my intention to create a methodology for cataloguing Roman coinage so that coinage could be more open to historical study and be better employed as evidence exemplifying the transition between the Republic and the Principate. The format I am proposing is one that would employ chronology as the initial means of organization. All the coins issued in any given year or time period would be listed together. The criteria here would be that the earliest possible year in the dating of a coin determines where the coin would be placed. As for the divisions between the years, the further down the list, the further the dating interval. This format would show, for instance, that in 19-18 BC the Pergamene Mars Ultor *cistophori* bearing the obverse legend IMP(erator) IX TR(ibunicia) PO(testate) V were minted after the Pergamene Parthian Arch *cistophori* that are inscribed IMP IX TR PO IV both on the obverse and on the architrave of the arch.⁸⁵ It would also show that the movement of the production of coinage commemorating Augustus’ Parthian success of 20 BC went from Pergamum to Rome to Spain (i.e. the first mint to be listed would be Pergamum). Wherever possible, an internal chronological arrangement would be made. For instance, the Pergamene *aurei* and *denarii* of 19-18 BC were minted in this order: (1) *denarii* with uninscribed obverses, (2) *denarii* with inscribed obverses, and (3) *aurei* with inscribed obverses. This is the order in which they should be catalogued.⁸⁶ My ideal numismatic catalogue would comprise all the Roman coinage minted from the beginning of the Second Triumvirate in 43 BC to the accession of Tiberius in AD 14. The obverse and the

⁸⁵ Compare the order of *RIC I*² 507 and 508.

⁸⁶ Sutherland 1973: 144. Compare the order of *RIC I*² 511-526.

reverse of any given coin would be listed together. Unlike the *AMCRE I*, my catalogue would be a type catalogue.

Amongst the criteria I would use to classify these coins, typology is very important. Change and continuity in coin types must be carefully analyzed, that is, the iconography and legends of both the obverse and the reverse. We need to examine what changes there were in iconography and legends, and how they relate to the political history of the period.

Two previous studies are of interest here. One concerns a method of classification. The other is an analysis of obverse and reverse typology. In his 1876 *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Sicily*, Head classifies coins according to artistic style. Although the format employed is first by city in alphabetical order, the coins are listed according to periods of artistic style: (1) ancient art, (2) transitional, (3), finest style, (4) early declining, (5) late declining, and (6) under Roman dominion. Brief classifications of coinage according to artistic style are also laid out in the introduction to Grueber's *BMCR*, such as (1) decline of art, (2) revival of art, and (3) finest style.⁸⁷ The table collated by Evans in her chapter entitled "Propaganda and the Coins" gives the percentages of obverse and reverse types divided by generic categories, that is, she calls these categories political, deities, buildings, and so on under various time periods (e.g. 44-30 BC, 30 BC to the death of Augustus). Four problems can be found with this analysis: (1) this table is based only on gold and silver coinage catalogued in the *RRC* and *RIC I*², (2) no study is made of "categories" of legends, (3) types on coins do not necessarily only fit one category, and (4) in the period from 44-30 BC, a period that is obviously of great significance to the present thesis, the percentage of types on obverses and reverses are combined rather than listed separately.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *BMCR I*: xcvi-cii.

⁸⁸ Evans 1992: 33-34.

A similar method of classification, not according to artistic style, but according to periods of change and/or innovation, should be developed for Octavianic/Augustan coinage. If a coin is determined to be a change, it should also be determined to what degree was this a change. Did its basis come from some historical event, whether political, militaristic, or cultural? If so, then this coin must be carefully examined in relation to that particular event. Modern scholarship has tended to generalize periods of change in the Augustan Age. For instance, Eder, in his article entitled “The Augustan Principate as a Binding Link”, briefly categorizes the Augustan Age into five phases: (1) 44-33 BC, (2), 32-28 BC, (3), 27-23 BC, (4) 22-2 BC, and (5) 1 BC- AD 14.⁸⁹ The exercise here would be to conduct a preliminary examination of these coins without the influence of any of these preconceived timelines and to determine where changes occur within the confines of the production of these coins. Then, and only then, should these newly determined periods of changes in coinage be compared to the preconceived divisions that currently map out the age of Augustus. What should be determined is whether or not these changes on Octavianic and Augustan coins correspond to any of these preset stages. If not, what are these new stages and what impact do they have on the whole evolution of the Augustan age? Then the output and duration of the production the coin bearing this change must be determined. A comparison should be made to contemporaneous coins. It should be determined whether or not these contemporaneous coins portrayed some variation of this change, and then what were the duration and output of these coins. Finally, a comparison should be made to other types of media (e.g. architecture, sculpture, etc.). Did this change appear elsewhere? This same analysis can as well be applied to coins which depict a new image or legend. What also needs to be determined is how many coins portray changes or new types and/or legends over a certain period of time. Were there earlier periods with similar rates of such change and innovation?

⁸⁹ Eder 1990: 88.

Two particular preconceptions of coinage that will be explored in detail in relation to the criteria of typology as a means of classification are (1) the innovation of obverse portraiture of living persons and (2) issuing authority. As the introduction of portraiture of living persons in 44 BC is traditionally said to be the catalyst for “imperial” coinage, what, in my opinion, should be examined is the change in other aspects of a coin depicting such an obverse portrait. How did the obverse legends and reverse legends and types change after this innovation? A specific study should be made of coins minted only after 44 BC. What are the differences between those coins that bear this type of obverse portraiture and those that do not? That a coin is “Senatorial”, “imperatorial”, “triumviral”, and so on because the issuing authority is the Senate, *imperator*, or triumvir and so on (usually determined by the legend) is confusing. Is there a specific iconography for “Senatorial” coinage but not for “imperatorial” coinage and vice versa? What needs to be done, for instance, is a specific comparison between coins that bear the legend EX SC in the provinces and coins minted in Rome in the first century BC. For instance, do the triumvirs use exclusive iconography? Can coins actually be classified according to the audience they were intended for? Do all the “military” coins actually portray militaristic types? For instance, calling the coin depicting the temple of Divus Julius minted in Africa in 36 BC a “military” coin is deceptive.⁹⁰ This reverse type is relevant not to the development of military exploits, but rather to architectural and religious developments in the late first century BC.

Thus, my aim is to employ a new brand of criteria for classifying Roman coinage that would better aid in understanding the transition between the Republic and the Principate. In terms of the coinage, my examination will rely on change, continuity, and innovation from previous coin types. Output, duration, and variations of the coins

⁹⁰ *RRC* 540/1.

in question will be studied. For instance, do the coins minted just after Actium depict any changes that would justify them to be called “imperial” coins? If there are no changes on these coins, when, if at all, do these changes occur, and what is their significance? A system for showing changes is to be developed. For instance, some pre-existing terms relating to certain developments of change or continuity or innovation are to be employed, such as the term “transitional”, as well as new terms will be created and employed. Preconceptions are to be used with extreme caution and perhaps can be eliminated all together from the interpretation of these coins. These particular criteria for classification will be used with the question of what coinage can contribute to the nature and chronology of the formation of the Augustan Principate in mind.

CHAPTER 2

OCTAVIAN'S COINS OF C. 32-27 BC

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The two series of *aurei* and *denarii* of c. 32-27 BC bearing the reverse legends CAESAR DIVI F(ilius) and IMP(erator) CAESAR as well as the other Octavianic gold and silver coins minted from 29 BC to the so-called First Settlement of 27 BC have to date been catalogued as Roman “imperial” coins. At present, major numismatic catalogues, including Mattingly’s *BMCRE 1* and Sutherland’s *RIC I*², list these coins as the first “imperial” Roman coins. This standard classification is questioned here. The aim is to analyze these coins by examining what changes, if any, occurred in typology and on legends in order to determine what traditions they drew on, and what, if anything, was innovative.

In particular, the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series have been copiously illustrated in major textbooks on the Augustan age, including Zanker’s *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* and Galinsky’s *Augustan Culture*. These coins have in fact been meticulously examined in numerous works, including those by Liegle, Kraft, Sutherland, and Gurval.⁹¹ Scholars have traditionally referred to these series as Octavian’s “Actian” or “triumphal” coinage particularly because of the analyses made by Mattingly, Liegle, and Kraft which credit Octavian’s Actian victory as the impetus for minting these coins.⁹² Kraft’s interpretations of these coin types have, however, been seriously criticized by Crawford. Unlike Kraft, Crawford believes “there is no certainty that all [these series’] elements were produced together, let alone conceived together”.⁹³ He goes on to say that not all the issues of these series are analyzed in

⁹¹ Liegle 1941, Kraft 1969: 5-25, Sutherland 1976a, and Gurval 1995: 47-65.

⁹² *BMCRE 1*: cxxii-cxxiv.

⁹³ Crawford 1974: 247.

Kraft's study and to criticize Kraft for manipulating evidence to emphasize Actian themes. Sutherland provides an extensive die-study for both these series and makes useful comments on Octavian's portraiture on some of these coins as well as general remarks concerning iconography. Gurval's section on these coins in his *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* gives a concise summary of the scholarship concerning Octavian's portraiture on these series as well as providing a detailed commentary on some, though not all, the reverse types of these series. It seems, however, that Gurval takes Crawford's criticism of Kraft's Actian references too literally. Gurval reaches the same conclusions as Kraft does except that a Naulochean theme now substitutes the Actian one of Kraft. Assenmaker follows Gurval's lead and also overemphasizes a Naulochean theme throughout the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series.⁹⁴ Rich and Williams provide an extremely detailed study of the LEGES ET IVRA reverse type of 28 BC. Their article examines this particular Octavianic *aureus* alongside the various issues of the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series.⁹⁵

Despite articles such as those of Sutherland, Rich and Williams, the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR are still considered highly problematic series. The typology of these coins has not yet been sufficiently explained. About these two series, Zanker writes: "here is a whole new repertoire of beautiful images impressed on precious metal."⁹⁶ It is statements like this as well as the traditional preconception that the decisive break between the Republic and Empire occurred as a result of Actium that persuade scholars and numismatists alike to call these coins "imperial". Since there is such a variety of coin types and since most of these coins were minted after Actium, scholars immediately assume these coins represent a change from Republican coinage.

⁹⁴ Assenmaker 2007 and 2008.

⁹⁵ Rich and Williams 1999.

⁹⁶ Zanker 1988: 57.

It should be noted that Zanker titles this section "The Programmatic Silver Coinage of Octavian" when clearly *aurei* were also minted in these series.

Moreover, the coinage minted from the death of Julius Caesar to 27 BC is generally studied independently. Zarrow writes that “most often the coins of the factions have been studied separately and in a linear fashion over time, and this methodology has affected the interpretation of the types”.⁹⁷ It would have been more useful and fitting to his “dialogue” if Newman had placed all the coinage of Octavian and Antony together in any given year in chronological order. It is also misleading for him to have excluded other contemporaneous coins (e.g. the coinage of Sextus Pompey) as some Octavianic coins are more appropriate to a dialogue between Octavian and Sextus Pompey than one between Octavian and Antony.⁹⁸ At times, the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series are even ignored in works that specifically discuss the time period in which they were minted. For instance, Newman surprisingly does not discuss any of these coins despite the fact that his “dialogue” of coins dates from 44 BC to 30 BC.⁹⁹ Millar designates the years from 36 BC to 28 BC as the “first revolution of Emperor Caesar”, but surprisingly makes only very fleeting references to just a couple of the reverse types from both these series.¹⁰⁰ In fact, he says that “the ‘Roman’ coinage thus did not represent the last few years of the regime of Emperor Caesar as vividly as did other media – inscriptions, statues, temples, the Curia Julia, and the Mausoleum.”¹⁰¹ Therefore, these coins have often been studied in isolation and not in relation to prior Roman coinage as well as contemporary Roman visual media. What is more, as discussed throughout, their classification as “imperial” has not been questioned.

⁹⁷ Zarrow 2003: 124.

⁹⁸ Newman 1990.

⁹⁹ Newman 1990.

¹⁰⁰ Millar 2000: 14-15.

¹⁰¹ Millar 2000: 17.

2.2 THE CAESAR DIVI F(ilius) AND IMP(erator) CAESAR COINS AND THEIR DATE AND MINT

Scholars disagree about the dating and attribution of mintage of the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series. Cohen, Babelon and, more recently, Assenmaker date both series from 36 BC to 27 BC.¹⁰² In *BMCR* 2, Grueber dated the CAESAR DIVI F series as early as 36 BC and extended it down to 29 BC. He limited the IMP CAESAR series from 29 BC to 27 BC. His chronology is based on Dio's account of the Senate's formal grant of the *praenomen imperatoris* to Octavian in 29 BC.¹⁰³ Other numismatists, such as Mattingly and Sutherland, who mark the divide between CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR to 29 BC also employ Dio as evidence.¹⁰⁴ However, as will be discussed in Section 2.3.1, the *praenomen imperatoris* was added to the repertoire of Octavian's coin legends as early as 38 BC.¹⁰⁵ Mannsperger dates the start of the CAESAR DIVI F group to 36 BC and that of the IMP CAESAR group to 33 BC.¹⁰⁶ On the basis of the Vigatto and Beauvoisin hoards which include some of Antony's "legionary" *denarii*, minted from 32 BC to 31 BC, as well as some CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins, Crawford dates these Octavianic series from c. 34 BC to 30 BC. He says that the hoard evidence suggests that these series and Antony's "legionary" coinage were produced around the same time.¹⁰⁷ Sutherland dates the CAESAR DIVI F group to c. 32-29 BC and the IMP CAESAR group to 29-27 BC.¹⁰⁸ Sear dates the CAESAR DIVI F series to 32-30 BC and the IMP CAESAR series to 30-29 BC. He further divides the CAESAR DIVI F group into pre-Actian and post-Actian issues.¹⁰⁹ In *BMCRE* 1, Mattingly dates the CAESAR DIVI F group to 31-29 BC and the IMP CAESAR group to 29-27 BC. He also says that some of the CAESAR DIVI F

¹⁰² Cohen 1880: 69-74 and 80-82, Babelon 1886: 48-54 and 63-67.

¹⁰³ Dio 52.41.3-4.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. *BMCRE* 1: cxx and Sutherland 1976a: 142.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. *RRC* 534/3.

¹⁰⁶ Mannsperger 1982: 331-332.

¹⁰⁷ Crawford 1969: 41-42, 1974: 247, and 1985: 256.

¹⁰⁸ Sutherland 1976a: 142 and *RIC* I²: 59-61.

¹⁰⁹ Sear 1998: pp.240-260.

coins continued to be issued after 29 BC and were thus minted simultaneously with the IMP CAESAR group.¹¹⁰ Kraft dated all these coins to after 29 BC. Giard also dates both series to 29 BC in his *CBN 1*.¹¹¹ This dating is clearly erroneous as it is implausible to believe that Octavian did not pay his troops in the period just prior to and immediately after Actium.

It seems improbable to specifically attribute more than just a couple of these CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR issues to either Naulochus or Actium. The IMP CAESAR coin depicting a temple of Diana within which is a military trophy on a prow and a triskelis on the pediment on the reverse clearly refers to Naulochus.¹¹² Although it is unclear which temple of Diana is being represented (either a temple near the site of the Battle of Naulochus or a temple in Rome, perhaps the temple of Diana on the Aventine), Diana, associated with the Artemision located close to Mylae, and the triskelis, as a symbol of Sicily, leave no room to doubt that this coin commemorates Octavian's Naulochean victory.¹¹³ One IMP CAESAR reverse type shows a rostral column surmounted by a standing figure of Octavian while another shows a single-bay arch surmounted by a quadriga driven by Octavian.¹¹⁴ Indeed, amongst the honours voted to Octavian by the Senate in 36 BC were a rostral column and an arch to be erected in the Forum Romanum.¹¹⁵ However, Servius writes that Octavian built a monument composed of four rostral columns after his Actian victory. This coin could either be the Naulochean column or a component of the Actian monument.¹¹⁶ An arch was also voted for Octavian after Actium, and this was the only arch built for him in the

¹¹⁰ *BMCRE 1*: cxx.

¹¹¹ Kraft 1969: 19-25 and *CBN 1*: p.41. Giard 1984: 78 n.7 later attributed the start of both these series to 31 BC (or just before).

¹¹² Fig. 2

*RIC I*² 273.

¹¹³ For possible identities of this temple structure, see Hekster and Rich 2006: 154.

¹¹⁴ Figs. 3 and 4.

*RIC I*² 271 and 267.

¹¹⁵ See Appian *B.C.* 5.130 on the rostral column and Dio 49.15.1 on the arch.

¹¹⁶ Servius, *Georgics* 3.29.

See also Palombi 1993: 308.

Forum Romanum and that is depicted on the IMP CAESAR reverse.¹¹⁷ The CAESAR DIVI F reverse type that shows Octavian, with his right foot on a globe holding a spear in one hand and an aplustre in the other, which traditionally is said to refer to Actium, does not necessarily have to allude to Actium or even to Naulochus.¹¹⁸

Nor is there reason to date the IMP CAESAR series to 29 BC. It is probably true that the IMP CAESAR reverse type depicting the Curia Julia refers to its dedication on 28 August 29 BC. Another IMP CAESAR reverse shows the same figure of Victory facing front on a globe, holding a wreath in one hand and a vexillum in the other, as that which stands on the apex of the Curia Julia. Victory standing on a globe holding a wreath and a palm branch also appears in the CAESAR DIVI F series.¹¹⁹ Dio writes that Octavian set up a statue of Victory inside of the Curia that was brought from Tarentum. The placement of Victory on the apex suggests this IMP CAESAR reverse is a symbolic representation of the Curia.¹²⁰ However, this does not mean that the other IMP CAESAR reverses have to be dated from 29 BC. The IMP CAESAR series should not be dated later than the CAESAR DIVI F series and so it can be said that both were being produced at the same time. Indeed, Sydenham writes that “there is no logical reason, either from the nature of the titles or from the style of the coins, why the legends CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR should not have been used simultaneously, since

¹¹⁷ Dio 49.15.1-3 states that Octavian declined some of the honours voted to him in 36 BC. The Naulochean arch was one of these honours. Appian’s exclusion of this honour in *B.C.* 5.130 suggests this was the case.

For a thorough examination of this Actian arch and its later modifications, see below, Sections 2.3.2 and 3.5.

¹¹⁸ Fig. 5

*RIC I*² 256.

See below, Section 2.3.2, for a detailed discussion of these coin types.

¹¹⁹ Figs. 6-8

*RIC I*² 266, 268, and 254a-255.

¹²⁰ Dio 51.22.1-2.

It can be noted the reverse types depicting Victory that were minted for Octavian by L. Pinarius Scarpus, the governor of Cyrenaica, should not be considered “wholly derivative” of the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR issues or dated to 31-30 BC. Scarpus first reused an image of Victory on a type for Octavian that he already minted for Antony (*RIC I*² 532 and *RRC* 546/8). As the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins depicting Victory on a globe were issued around 28 BC, Scarpus’ types with this same Victory were then issued probably a little later (*RIC I*² 531 and 533-535). See Rich 2013: 100-101 n.29.

See also below, Section 2.3.1, for more discussion on the Victory types of the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series.

they clearly complement each other.”¹²¹ The contrast between the variety of types in these series and the invariable types depicted on Antony’s “legionary” *denarii* should be noted – these Antonian coins always portray a galley on the obverse and an *aquila* in between two standards on the reverse.¹²²

Scholars also disagree about where the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series were minted. Some have attributed all these coins to the East. Laffranchi assigned them to Nicomedia and Nicaea while Sydenham and Mattingly assigned them to Ephesus and Pergamum.¹²³ Others have attributed them to the West. This attribution is now generally accepted and will be followed here. Sutherland rightfully says that these series were intended to pay troops at Octavian’s pre-Actian military headquarters in Italy. He assigns them to an uncertain Italian mint, but it is more than likely that they were produced in Rome.¹²⁴ Other Octavianic *aurei*, *denarii*, and *quinarii* dated variously from 29 BC to 27 BC that are attributed to Italy were also likely minted in Rome alongside these two series. Some other Octavianic coins minted between 29 BC and 27 BC are attributed to the East. For instance, the LEGES ET IVRA *aureus* was minted alongside the LIBERTATIS P(opuli) R(omani) VINDEX/PAX *cistophori* in Asia Minor, perhaps at Ephesus.¹²⁵

2.3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OCTAVIAN’S COINS OF C. 32-27 BC

A close examination of prior Republican coinage, particularly from Sulla onwards, as well as other visual media, again primarily from the first century BC, shows

¹²¹ Sydenham 1920: 36.

However, he dates both these series to 23-20 BC because he believes their reverse types are clearly post-Actian.

¹²² Fig. 9

RRC 544.

¹²³ Laffranchi 1919: 16, Sydenham 1920: 35, and *BMCRE* 1: cxx.

¹²⁴ Sutherland 1951: 186, 1976b: 49-52, and *RIC* 1²: 30.

Grueber *BMCRR* 2: p.8-17 and Giard *CBN* 1: p.41 attribute these series to Rome, and Burnett 1983: 564 and Rich and Williams 1999: 171-172 also assign them the probability of the Roman mint.

¹²⁵ *RIC* 1² 275a-277 and 544-45.

For the mint of the LEGES ET IVRA *aureus* and the PAX *cistophori* (*RIC* 1² 476), see Rich and Williams 1999: 175-176.

that this Octavianic coinage is a culmination of recent Roman artistic trends. The numismatic display of images of Octavian found on these coins best exemplifies how this group of coinage does not diverge from, but rather builds upon, Late Republican art. Many of these types have parallels or influences in the typological inventory of Republican coinage. The images of Octavian constitute the bulk of the typology on all these coins. Thus, particular attention is given to them when classifying these Octavianic coins as new and thus “imperial”. While it is true that no series of prior Roman coinage portrayed such a diversity of images of a living person, displays of Roman individuals in such poses were already prevalent in other artistic forms. The influx of these images of Octavian simply incorporates the conventional “heroic portrait” and “heroic figure” into the typological inventory of Roman numismatic iconography. I refrain from employing the terms “heroic statue” or “portrait statue” that are otherwise generally used in scholarship since these terms could suggest that these coin types are actual representations of existing statues. The evidence for existing statuary that corresponds exactly to the figures on these Octavianic coin types remains inconclusive.¹²⁶ These “heroic portrait” and “heroic figure” types are clearly reflective of Hellenistic artistic conventions; and so, Octavian’s CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series can be characterized as in a “Hellenistic monarchic” tradition. I will first discuss the obverse and reverse types without images of Octavian in an attempt to show how they mainly rely on elements of Republican coinage. Then, I will turn to the obverse and reverse types depicting images of Octavian in an attempt to show how they, while new in such a variety to Roman coinage, are not new to the broader context of Late Republican art that was influenced by Hellenistic visual media.

¹²⁶ Kuttner 1995: 53-55 is right to emphasize that these numismatic images of Octavian *allude to or paraphrase* freestanding honorific statues or statue types (italics are my own).

2.3.1 Legends and Obverse and Reverse Types without Images of Octavian

Many of the so-called “imperial” Octavianic coins are in actuality common Republican types. Others have been directly influenced by Republican coins. Their legends are also not entirely novel. CAESAR DIVI F is first found on Octavianic bronzes from Southern Italy that were minted in 39 BC or 38 BC.¹²⁷ By the late forties BC, Sextus Pompey already assimilated his father with Janus and Neptune on coins despite the fact that he was never formally made a god by the Senate. He is also called *Neptunius dux* and the son of Neptune.¹²⁸ Prompted by Sextus Pompey’s initiative, Octavian began to advertise his association to Divus Julius after Julius Caesar’s official deification by the Senate on 1 January 42 BC. The inscription DIVOM IVLIVM is found on *glandes plumbeae* produced during the Perusine War and the legends DIVI IVLI F and DIVI F can be found on coins minted by T. Sempronius Graccus and Q. Voconius Vitulus in 40 BC as well as by Agrippa in 38 BC.¹²⁹ *Divi filius* was a title that neither Sextus Pompey nor Antony could legitimately employ. As mentioned above, although the *praenomen imperatoris* was officially given to Octavian in 29 BC, IMP CAESAR DIVI IVLI F is seen on a *denarius* minted in 38 BC. Simpson has recently demonstrated that while the use of the *praenomen imperatoris* was unprecedented, this title was not as excessive as scholars have previously believed. Octavian assumed this *praenomen*, granted to his adoptive father by the Senate in 45 BC, and combined it with *Divi filius*, thus strengthening his position as the rightful heir of Julius Caesar.¹³⁰ IMP CAESAR DIVI F then appears on coins minted for Octavian

¹²⁷ Fig. 10

RRC 535/1.

Crawford dates this coin as well as 535/2 to 38 BC with a question mark. Newman 1990:47 dates them to 39 BC.

¹²⁸ Horace, *Epode* 9.7-8 and Fig. 11 (RRC 483).

For a detailed discussion of these coin types of Sextus Pompey, see below, Section 2.3.2.

¹²⁹ RRC 525/1-2, 526/1 and 3, and 534/1-2.

For these *glandes plumbeae*, see Alföldi and Giard 1984.

¹³⁰ On the Senate’s grant of this *praenomen* to Julius Caesar, see Dio 43.44.2-5.

Simpson 1998.

in 37-36 BC.¹³¹ I agree with Sear that the *denarius* with an anepigraphic obverse depicting the head of Octavian and a reverse showing a shield with the legend IMP CAESAR DIVI F should be dated before the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR issues to around 35 BC. The obverse is anepigraphic in the style of the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR groups, but IMP CAESAR DIVI F is still combined as seen on the coins of 37-36 BC.¹³²

The reverse legends ASIA RECEPTA, on an Octavianic *quinarius* from 29-28 BC, and AEGVPT (or AEGVPTO) CAPTA, on *aurei* and *denarii* from 28 BC, recall the ARMENIA (or ARMENTA) DEVICTA legend on an Antonian coin of 32 BC.¹³³ The image of Victory, holding a wreath and a palm branch, standing on a cista mystica between two snakes on the *quinarius* combines the traditional use of Victory on Republican *quinarii* with the traditional depiction of a cista mystica on Hellenistic *cistophori* of Asia Minor.¹³⁴ Antony also employed the image of the cista mystica on *cistophori* minted at Ephesus in 39 BC.¹³⁵ In the same way that Antony employed the tiara as a symbol of Armenia, the crocodile can be viewed as a symbol of Egypt. It may be noted that Crassus (most likely M. Licinius Crassus) minted bronze coins depicting a crocodile at Cyrenaica and Crete that are dated to c. 37-34 BC.¹³⁶ The lituus found on the obverses of *RIC I*² 275a-b clearly follows the late Republican numismatic tradition of displaying priestly symbols and titles of the varying (Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and so on) individuals for whom those coins were minted.¹³⁷

¹³¹ *RRC* 537, 538, 540, and Sear 1998: 315A.

¹³² Fig. 12

*RIC I*² 543a.

Sear 1998: p.241.

¹³³ Figs. 13-15

*RIC I*² 276, 275a-b, 544-45, and *RRC* 543.

*RIC I*² 546 is a doubtful specimen. See Gorini 1968: 54.

¹³⁴ E.g. *RRC* 331 and Mørkholm 1991: no.617.

¹³⁵ Fig. 16 and 17

RPC I: 2201 and 2202.

¹³⁶ Fig. 18

RPC I: 914 and 916-17.

See *RRC* 539/1 for another Antonian coin depicting the tiara of Armenia as a reverse type.

¹³⁷ For this development in Republican numismatic typology, see, for instance, Morawiecki 1996.

The components of the IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX/PAX *cistophori* and the IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI/LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT *aureus* minted in Ephesus in 28 BC are not entirely novel. A coin issued in 44 BC bore the obverse legend PAXS.¹³⁸ *Vindex libertatis* by this time became a catchphrase – for instance, in Caesar’s *Bellum Civile* 1.22.5, Caesar justified his actions of 49 BC by saying that he was vindicating his own liberty and that of the Roman people, and more well-known, in *Res Gestae* 1.1, Augustus says he vindicated the liberty of the republic, oppressed by tyranny of a faction. *Libertas* was one of the principal slogans found on the coinage of Brutus and Cassius of 42 BC.¹³⁹ A coin minted in 48 BC by C. Vibius Pansa depicts the obverse bust of Libertas accompanied by the legend LIBERTATIS and a seated Roma, with her foot on a globe, crowned by Victory on the reverse. Crawford rightly connects the aforementioned passage in Caesar’s *Bellum Civile* to the images represented on this coin.¹⁴⁰ The imagery on these Octavianic *cistophori* is directly influenced by the Antonian *cistophori* previously mentioned. On the obverses, Antony wears an ivy wreath while Octavian wears a laurel one. On the reverses, the figure of Dionysus holding a thyrsus is replaced by Apollo holding a caduceus. The cista mytica is moved to the side, the snakes are eliminated, and while an ivy wreath encompasses the whole of the obverse of one of these Antonian *cistophori*, a laurel wreath encompasses the whole of the reverses of the Octavianic coins.¹⁴¹

However, these LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX *cistophori* not only refer to Octavian’s Actian victory, but also to the political events of 28-27 BC. As recorded by Tacitus, *Annales* 3.28.1-2, and Dio 53.2.5, in 28 BC Octavian annulled his triumviral

¹³⁸ *RRC* 480/24.

¹³⁹ E.g. *RRC* 501/1 and 498/1.

See Hollstein 1994 for further discussion on these types.

¹⁴⁰ *RRC* 449/4 and p.465.

¹⁴¹ Compare Figs. 16-17 and 19.

See also Mannsperger 1973.

acts that were illegal. Other measures were also taken by Octavian in the same year, such as those relating to the renewal of free elections and to the treasury.¹⁴² LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT on Fig. 1 is thus connected to Octavian's annulment edict and to these other measures taken in 28 BC. Rich and Williams first translated *leges et iura* as "laws and rights". This has been criticized by Mantovani, and now Rich has translated this phrase as "statutes and laws". *Restituit* can be translated as "restored" (i.e. gave back). P R has been expanded as a dative, P(opulo) R(omano), by Rich and Williams, while Mantovani employs the genitive (i.e. P(opuli) R(omani)). Rich has again convincingly argued for the dative case. As will be discussed in the following section, 2.3.2, the reverse's accompanying image of Octavian also supports this view.¹⁴³ The full reading of this legend should be: "he restored (i.e. gave back) the statutes and laws to the Roman people." Roman political discourse often stresses *libertas'* dependence on *leges*, and so Rich and Williams attractively suggest that the LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX and LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT legends derive from a Senatorial decree of 28 BC referring to the annulment edict and other measures taken by Octavian in that year.¹⁴⁴

These Octavianic coins as well as the ASIA RECEPTA, AEGVPTO CAPTA, and CAESAR COS VII CIVIBVS SERVATEIS types raise two points of interest that will be fully explored in Chapter 3.5. These coins demonstrate an increase in explanatory legends and in the concept of specificity. There is now a direct correspondence between legends and types. Republican legends were primarily limited to ROMA, S C, EX S C, names of deities, names and offices of the *tresviri monetales* and other moneyers, and to the names and titles of Sulla, Caesar, Octavian and so on.

¹⁴² For a detailed account of these measures, see Rich and Williams 1999: 199-202.

¹⁴³ For the translation of *leges et iura*, see Rich and Williams 1999: 181, Mantovani 2008: 13-22, and Rich 2013: 93.

For the translation of *restituit*, see Rich and Williams 1999: 182 and Rich 2013: 93-95.

For the genitive case of P R, see Mantovani 2008. For the dative case, see Rich and Williams 1999: 182, Rich 2013: 94.

¹⁴⁴ For the connection between *libertas* and *leges*, see Rich and Williams 1999: 185-6. For the possibility of such a decree, see Rich and Williams 1999: 187.

The legend rarely specifies exactly what is on the coin, except when identifying a deity, person, or office (priestly or otherwise).¹⁴⁵ Before 29 BC, there are only fourteen coin types with legends that do not fall into the categories listed above.¹⁴⁶ Out of these, only two legends are finite sentences, as on the LEGES ET IVRA *aureus*, and nine have corresponding images. Brutus' coins showing a pileus in between two daggers with the legend EID MAR is probably the most famous example of this direct link between type and legend.¹⁴⁷ What is more, both the LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX *cistophori* and the LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT *aureus* both mention the *populus Romanus*. Prior to these coins, P R appears only twice: as a component of the legend accompanying the Genius Populi Romani and Fortuna Populi Romani.¹⁴⁸ P R (and S P Q R) is employed in bulk on coins minted in Rome, Spain (at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia), and Pergamum from 19 BC to 16 BC.¹⁴⁹

The appearance of busts and full-length figures of deities on the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series is rather self-explanatory. Obverse busts of Venus, Pax, and Victory are portrayed on some CAESAR DIVI F coins and those of Apollo, Diana, and Mars are seen in the IMP CAESAR group. Figures of Venus, Pax, and Mercury appear on some reverses of the CAESAR DIVI F group. A figure of Victory appears on three reverse types and as two obverse types in these two coin series.¹⁵⁰ Obverse heads of different deities first appeared on Roman coins in the third century BC until the head of Roma became the standard obverse type in 211 BC. However, a “libération typologique” took place after 135 BC when varying images appear on both obverses and reverses, including busts and full-length figures of deities.¹⁵¹ Apollo, Mars, Diana

¹⁴⁵ E.g. *RRC* 467 for priestly offices.

¹⁴⁶ *RRC* 301, 401, 416, 417, 419, 420, 422, 425, 427, 429/2a, 508/3, 515, 543, and 544.

¹⁴⁷ *RRC* 508/3. See also *RRC* 480/21, 494/42c, and 540.

¹⁴⁸ *RRC* 393/1a and 440/1.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 3.5 below where *RIC I*² 277 will also be discussed.

¹⁵⁰ Obverse busts: Figs. 20a-f (*RIC I*² 251, 253, 256, 271, 273, and 274).

Figures of deities: Figs. 21a-d (*RIC I*² 250a, 252, 260-261, 263-264, 254a-255, 268, and 257).

¹⁵¹ For the development of a “libération typologique”, see Zehanker 1973: 629.

and Victory are all depicted as obverse heads prior to the Sullan period. The obverse head of Venus is first seen on Sullan coins in c. 84-83 BC and the obverse head of Pax enters Roman numismatic typology in 44 BC.¹⁵²

The CAESAR DIVI F type depicting a standing figure of Venus is directly influenced by the Caesarian type of 44 BC showing Venus holding a sceptre in her left hand with a shield on ground, and holding Victory in her right hand – on this Octavianic coin, Venus holds the helmet of Mars instead of Victory and the shield now displays the *sidus Iulium*. These two elements – Mars and shield with *sidus Iulium* are also seen on an IMP CAESAR *denarius*. It should be briefly noted that there are Hellenistic precedents for this Caesarian type as well as for the *sidus Iulium*. While the implications of the image of a deity holding a standing figure of Nike will be later examined in relation to the IMP CAESAR reverse depicting Octavian seated on a curule chair and holding a Victoriola in his right hand, it can be said that this motif recalls Pheidias' statues of a seated Zeus Nikephoros and a standing Athena Nikephoros. Seleucus I and Lysimachus then respectively issued coins with depictions of a seated Zeus holding out Nike in his right hand and holding a sceptre in his left hand as well as and a seated Athena holding out Nike in her right hand and resting her left arm on a shield. The standing figure of Athena Nikephoros holding Nike in her right hand and a sceptre supported by a shield also became a popular image as seen, for instance, on a reverse type of Seleucus VI from c. 97-95 BC. This particular pose corresponds exactly to Caesar's Venus type.¹⁵³ The *sidus Iulium* was taken to represent the apotheosis of Julius Caesar in 44 BC, and Augustus subsequently added a star to all statues he erected of Caesar. The *sidus Iulium* was first introduced into Octavianic coinage in 38 BC.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² E.g. *RRC* 1, 160, 44, 306, 357, and 480/24.

¹⁵³ Fig. 22a (*RIC I*² 274)

Figs. 22b and c (*RRC* 480/9 and Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.2405).

¹⁵⁴ Pliny, *NH* 2.94, Virgil, *Ecl.* 9.47-9, and Dio 45.7.1.

The term, *sidus Iulium*, was first employed c. 25 BC by Horace in *Ode* 1.12.46: micat inter omnis/Iulium sidus velut inter ignis/luna minores [the Julian star shines among the other stars just as the Moon among lesser fires].

The implications of Hellenistic influence on the *sidus Iulium* will be explored more in Chapter 3.4 in relation to the Augustan depiction of Caesar's comet, but for now it will suffice to mention that Hellenistic monarchs were very often portrayed with stars or comets to represent their birth, accession to the throne, or deification.¹⁵⁵ The image of Pax holding a cornucopia on Fig. 21b follows the standing figures of such personifications as Pietas and Fortuna who also hold a cornucopia.¹⁵⁶

There are a considerable number of CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR reverse types portraying Victory. Clearly, Victory is one of the most general Republican coin types. Victory in a biga became a common reverse type since its introduction to the *denarius* in 157 BC. This image is of course a Hellenistic borrowing as seen, for example, on gold staters of Philip III.¹⁵⁷ Victory has already been seen standing, holding a wreath and palm branch since 90 BC on Roman coins. These free-standing Victory types recall Alexander the Great's free-standing Nike, holding a wreath and a stylis, reverse type. It should also be noted that T. Quinctius Flamininus' staters employ a free-standing image of Victory as early as 197 BC.¹⁵⁸ The addition of the globe and the vexillum on these IMP CAESAR coins are type varieties. The image of the globe on the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR types as well as the types issued by L. Pinarius Scarpus should not be considered innovative as Kraft points out.¹⁵⁹ Gurval justifiably counters Kraft by first stating that the globe has been introduced into the typological inventory of Roman coinage as early as 76 BC and then by providing a numismatic list of deities that were already represented with a globe.¹⁶⁰ Victory with a wreath on a prow may employ a couple of precedents. This image can be seen on numerous early Republican bronzes, but, Nike standing on a prow is also seen on coins

Fig. 23 (*RRC* 535/2).

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 3.4 below.

¹⁵⁶ E.g. *RRC* 516/1 and 5.

¹⁵⁷ Figs. 24a and b (*RRC* 197 and Mørkholm 1991: no.55).

¹⁵⁸ *RRC* 348/2d, Mørkholm 1991: nos.7-8, and see below, Fig. 31a.

¹⁵⁹ Kraft 1969: 20.n5.

¹⁶⁰ Gurval 1995: 61.

of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antiochus III, and Cleopatra.¹⁶¹ Two types employ the image of Victory standing as an iconographical element. As mentioned above Victory appears on the apex of the Curia Julia IMP CAESAR reverse and in the hand of Octavian on another IMP CAESAR reverse on which he is depicted sitting on a curule chair.

One of the CAESAR DIVI F reverses portrays Mercury seated on a rock holding a lyre with both hands.¹⁶² Scholars are divided between identifying this figure as either Apollo Actius/Leucadius (such is the opinion of Sutherland) or Mercury. The petasus (the hat on his back) and the talaria (the feather on his ankle) are clear indications that this figure is Mercury. The reason that Mercury was chosen to be portrayed in this series has, in my opinion, not been satisfactorily explained. Grant says “Mercury was appropriate to the restoration of commercial prosperity which was intended to follow the close of Sicilian hostilities.”¹⁶³ Gurval certainly sees this type as another opportunity for him to push his Naulochean motif – he says “Grueber’s original claim that the type may refer to the restoration of commerce to Italy after the battle of Naulochus” is still valid.”¹⁶⁴ Chittenden comes closer to a justifiable reason. She connects Mercury to his role as a pacifier and since she believes that these CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins were minted in the East she looks at examples of Hermes on Hellenistic coinage.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, she establishes a unity between Hermes and Hellenistic monarchs by surveying the iconography of Hermes on the coinage of Hellenistic monarchs, such as on obverse portraits of Prusias II of Bithynia depicting Prusias II with a winged diadem on tetradrachms and Prusias I wearing a petasus on bronze coins. However, one of her principal aims is to identify Octavian with Mercury on the IMP CAESAR herm types by connecting these coins to ithyphallic terminal

¹⁶¹ *RRC* 240/2a, Fig. 25 (Mørkholm 1991: no.162), Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.1147, and *RPC* 1: 4510.

¹⁶² Fig. 26

RIC 1² 257.

¹⁶³ Grant 1950: 17.

¹⁶⁴ Gurval 1995: 60.

See also Sutherland 1976a: 150-151.

¹⁶⁵ Chittenden 1945.

figures of Hermes. As will be seen later, my interpretation of these IMP CAESAR types is different; and so, what should be taken from Chittenden's study is the association between Hermes and Hellenistic monarchs. It should then be noted the depiction of a deity seated on a rock is one of the most common Hellenistic artistic motifs. Apollo seated on an omphalos became a common reverse type for the Seleucids. Other deities such as Poseidon and Heracles were depicted seated on a rock. Hermes seated on a rock was also a common sculptural type as can be seen on a first century AD Roman copy of a fourth or third century BC original of the school of Lysippus.¹⁶⁶ The Ionides Octavian, an agate plaque dating to 35-27 BC, depicts the bust of Octavian with a caduceus, an attribute of Mercury.¹⁶⁷ Horace's *Ode* 1.2 also identifies Octavian with Mercury – as the *almae filius Maiaie*. This phrase has in fact sparked scholarly debate over the divinity of Octavian. However, the worship of Octavian-Mercury at Rome lacks foundation; and so, the phrase should be taken as a symbolic association between Octavian and Mercury.¹⁶⁸

The IMP CAESAR reverse type depicting a military trophy is also not a novel idea.¹⁶⁹ Caesar first minted a free-standing trophy as a type in 48 BC. Trophies can also be found on coins of Sextus Pompey, Brutus, and Antony. Indeed, the combination of a military trophy on a prow, as on this IMP CAESAR type, is found on *denarii* of C. Domitius Ahenobarbus. This same trophy is seen inside the temple of Diana that is depicted on another IMP CAESAR type that was discussed earlier. It should be noted that the free-standing trophy type was introduced by Ziaelas, the successor of

¹⁶⁶ For these obverse portraits of Prusias II and Prusias I, see Fig. 27a (Chittenden 1945: pl.IX.10), and Mørkholm 1991: no.419.

For Apollo seated on an omphalos on a coin of Antiochus I, see Fig. 27b (Mørkholm 1991: no.344). For a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes showing Poseidon seated on a rock see Mørkholm 1991: no.172 and for a coin of Euthydemus I showing Heracles seated on a rock see Mørkholm 1991: no.386.

For this sculptural type of Hermes, see Fig. 27c.

On the IMP CAESAR coins depicting herms, see below, Section 2.3.2.

¹⁶⁷ Fig. 27d.

¹⁶⁸ For this debate, see, for instance, Scott 1928, Elmore 1931, and Commager 1959.

¹⁶⁹ Fig. 28
*RIC I*² 265a-b.

Nicomedes I, in Bithynia in c. 250-230 BC.¹⁷⁰ A CAESAR DIVI F reverse type portrays an empty quadriga. Gilded empty chariots were set up on the Capitol at the end of the third and beginning of the second centuries BC. *Denarii* of L. Rubrius Dossenus minted in 87 BC portray a free-standing empty triumphal quadriga for the first time on Roman coins.¹⁷¹ It should also be noted that Julius Caesar's chariot on the Capitol was also empty. Weinstock has reasonably reconstructed its composition from a Senatorial decree passed in 46 BC from two passages in Dio as well as an analysis of artistic antecedents. There were two sculptural types on the Capitol: an empty quadriga and a statue of Caesar with a globe.¹⁷²

To summarize, the Octavianic coins of c. 32-27 BC that do not depict images of Octavian either copy earlier Republican coins or are directly influenced by them, such as some types of Caesar and Antony. Moreover, some of these coins have parallels in Hellenistic coinage, such as the image of Victory standing on a prow. The CAESAR DIVI F type portraying Mercury seated on a rock is also influenced by Hellenistic motifs.

2.3.2 Obverse and Reverse Types with Images of Octavian

What appears new, then, are all the types depicting an image of Octavian. The majority of the obverses of the Octavianic coins of c. 32-27 BC show a portrait of Octavian. Indeed, obverse portraiture of living personages has become by this time a relatively regular Roman numismatic typological category. This feature of Roman coinage was indeed a borrowing from the coinage of Hellenistic monarchs. The first obverse portraits of living personages on Hellenistic coinage are those of Alexander the

¹⁷⁰ For trophies on Caesar's and Ahenobarbus' coins, see *RRC* 452/1 and 519/2. For a free-standing trophy on a coin of Ziaelas, see Mørkholm 1991: no.416.

¹⁷¹ Fig. 29
*RIC I*² 258.

¹⁷² See *RRC* 348/1 for Dossenus' coin type. For Caesar's chariot on the Capitoline, see Dio 43.14.6 and 21.2, and Weinstock 1971: 40-59. See below, Section 2.3.2, for more discussion on Caesar's statue with a globe.

Great, Ptolemy I, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Antiochus I. On the obverses of the gold victory medallion pieces issued c. 326-323 BC at Babylon for Alexander's victory over Poros at the Battle of Hydaspes in 326 BC, the bust of Alexander is depicted with an elephant's scalp (for Dionysus) and a ram's horns (for Zeus Ammon) protruding from the ear with the aegis of Zeus around the neck. A horseman, most likely Alexander, is depicted on the obverses of the contemporary silver "Poros decadrachms" also struck at Babylon. After 306 BC, Ptolemy I is portrayed with the aegis of Zeus and Demetrius Poliorcetes is seen with bull's horns. Coin types of Seleucus I depict a horned helmeted bust has been identified in the past as Alexander, but more recently are now identified as Seleucus himself. The first obverse portrait of a Hellenistic monarch without divine attributes was of Antiochus I. He is seen only wearing a diadem.¹⁷³

As early as 197 BC after the Battle of Cynocephalae, gold staters were minted for T. Quinctius Flamininus in the East, most probably Macedonia, with his portrait on the obverse. Although Flamininus does not wear a diadem, a comparison between Flamininus' staters and coins of Philip V of Macedon minted in c. 221-197 BC depicting an obverse portrait of Philip can be made. As mentioned earlier, Flamininus' Victory reverse type recalls the Alexander-style Nike.¹⁷⁴ As will be discussed later in this section and in Chapter 3.5, from the second century BC onwards Roman promagistrates and generals received honours in the Greek world following the tradition of honours awarded to Hellenistic monarchs. Flamininus was granted many cultic honours throughout Greece, and some of his statues hailed him as *soter*, an epithet

¹⁷³ Figs. 30a and b (Kroll 2007: fig. 90a (Fig. 30a) and b, 91d, 93, 96a, and 97a (Fig. 30b)). Other obverse portraits of Alexander issued during his lifetime are seen on small bronze coins minted at Naukratis, c. 331-322 BC. See Dahmen 2007: 9. On the identity of these coin types of Seleucus I, see Mørkholm 1991: nos.139-140 for Alexander and Hoover 2002 for Seleucus. For an introductory survey of the divine attributes of Hellenistic monarchs, see Smith 1988: 38-45 and Kroll 2007.

It should also be noted that obverse portraits of living Persian kings and satraps appear on Persian coinage. See, for example, Alram 2012.

¹⁷⁴ Figs. 31a and b (RRC 548 and Smith 1988: pl.74.9)

For further reference on these staters, see Carson 1959: 4-6 and Boyce 1962.

given to Hellenistic monarchs.¹⁷⁵ After 66 BC, Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia, issued bronze coins with the obverse portrait of Pompey the Great, this city's founder. Boyce points out that the earliest of these portraits depict Pompey in the style of late Seleucid monarchs.¹⁷⁶

As is well known, the Roman mint of 44 BC issued coins showing Julius Caesar's portrait on the obverses. This was the first time the portrait of a living person was depicted on the obverse of a coin minted at Rome. The majority of the obverse types of the members of Second Triumvirate depicted the portraits of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus. Sextus Pompey issued coins with his own portrait and even Brutus did. The *quattuorviri monetales* minting in Rome in 42 BC all employed obverse portraits of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus for their gold issues. The principal changes in the style of Octavian's portraiture on the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR from earlier triumviral portraiture are the absence of a legend and enhancement of details, such as the size of Octavian's profile. Earlier portraits of Octavian also depicted him with a beard of mourning as seen on coins minted from 38 BC to 36 BC. Brendel calls this portrait style Typus B. Other elements that make up some of Octavian's portraits on the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins, such as the influence of Hellenistic monarchic portraiture seen in the "heroic" treatment of Octavian's features, have already been employed in Late Republican portraiture as seen, for instance, in the features of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek bust of Pompey the Great from c. 50 BC. In his study of Octavian's "Actium-Typus" portrait, Zanker correctly states that while Octavian's portraits changed to reflect Hellenistic influences there was "keine programmatische Aussage".¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Plutarch, *Flaminius* 12.7, 16.3-4 and Taylor 1931: 34-35.

On the epithet *soter*, see Smith 1988: 49-50.

¹⁷⁶ Fig. 31c (*SNG Paris* 1215).

Boyce 1962: 348n.1.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Julius Caesar (Fig. 31d, *RRC* 480), Brutus (*RRC* 508/3), and Octavian (Fig. 31e, *RRC* 494/3b). For Octavian's portrait on the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series, see e.g. Fig. 31f (*RIC* I² 250a) and Fig. 31g (*RIC* I² 265a).

The divine assimilation that is found on a few coins from the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series is also not innovative. One CAESAR DIVI F and two IMP CAESAR types show Octavian as a divinity. This applies to the IMP CAESAR obverses portraying Octavian as Apollo and as a portrait herm of Veiovis and to the CAESAR DIVI F type showing Octavian as Neptune and to the IMP CAESAR type depicting a herm pillar of Octavian as Veiovis.¹⁷⁸ Pollini says “the period from 31/30 and 27 BC was a time of considerable experimentation in which association with the divine was expressed more directly and projected an image that would not give open offense to old republican sensibilities.”¹⁷⁹ However, this is not the point that should be made. The point that should be stressed more is that divine assimilation is not a novel concept and that Octavian does not necessarily “experiment”, but rather adopts Sextus Pompey and Antony’s use of divine assimilation for himself. Sextus Pompey introduced this genre into the typological inventory of Roman coinage. As mentioned earlier, he first depicted Pompey the Great as Janus on coins minted in Spain c. 45-44 BC and then as Neptune on coins of 42-40 BC issued in Sicily. Antony then followed, portraying himself as Sol, Neptune, and Dionysus in the period between 42 BC and 38 BC.¹⁸⁰ Divine attributes were employed as common features of Hellenistic monarchic

For Octavian’s bearded coin portraits, see *RRC* 534/3, 538/1, and 540. See also Brendel 1931: 31-39. See Fig. 31h for this bust of Pompey and Zanker 1973, particularly p. 39, for Actium-Typus portraits. For a recent concise summary of the scholarship on the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR Octavianic portraits, see Gurval 1995: 52-57.

¹⁷⁸ Fig. 20d is simply a bust of Apollo. Some numismatists, like Sear 1998: 424, describe it as Apollo with features resembling Octavian. Zanker 1988: 47 suggests Fig. 48 represents Octavian as one of the Dioscuri. However, the typical symbols of the Dioscuri, a lance and a pileus with a star, are absent. Liegle 1941: 105-106 suggests it represents Octavian as Mars Ultor, and Albert 1981: 149f. also connects Fig. 3 to a depiction of Octavian as Mars Ultor. However, Mars’ most common attributes, a beard and a helmet, are missing, and so, these Octavianic figures should not be likened to divinities. See Burnett 1983: 563-564.

¹⁷⁹ Pollini 1990: 336.

¹⁸⁰ Pompey the Great: Fig. 32a and b (*RRC* 479 and 511/3a). Some scholars, such as Zanker 1988: 31, suggest Fig. 32b could also depict Neptune with features of Sextus Pompey. Antony: *RRC* 496/3, Fig. 32c (*RPC I*: 1453), and Fig. 16.

imagery, as demonstrated earlier by Hellenistic monarchic obverse portraiture. Thus, the Roman use of divine assimilation was in keeping with Hellenistic tradition.¹⁸¹

As early as the triumviral period, an agate intaglio portrays Octavian with the attributes of Neptune. He is seen carrying a trident and driving a quadriga of hippocamps. An engraved gem, also dated to the triumviral period, portrays Octavian as a divinity. It shows Octavian wearing the aegis of Jupiter, holding a spear in his left hand.¹⁸²

One of the CAESAR DIVI F reverse types, Fig. 5, depicts Octavian, nude except for a chlamys and sword belt, holding a spear in his left hand and an aplustre in his right hand, standing with his right foot on a globe. This type clearly has many precedents; however, here I will focus on examples of divinities depicted in a similar pose. The figure of a deity or hero leaning forward on some type of object (e.g. rock or prow) is a common Hellenistic motif. One of the most famous examples is Lysippus' statue of Poseidon (the Lateran Poseidon); here Poseidon stands on a prow and holds a trident in one hand and an aplustre in another.¹⁸³ This clearly influenced the figure of Poseidon as depicted on tetradrachms of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Poseidon is here portrayed leaning forward with his right foot on a rock and holding a trident in his left hand. Another Hellenistic example is a reverse type from the second century BC showing Aetolus, the founder of the Aetolian League, leaning on a spear and raising his foot on a rock. A first century AD Pompeiian wall painting of the rescue of Andromeda from the House of the Dioscuri copies an earlier figure of Perseus raising his foot on a rock. On Republican coinage, there is the reverse type of 47 BC portraying Trinacrus, a native deity of Sicily, standing on a prow and a reverse type of the nineties BC depicting a naked warrior standing on a cuirass. As seen on Fig. 32b, Neptune is portrayed

¹⁸¹ For a concise introduction to the use of divine attributes for Hellenistic monarchs, see Smith 1988: 38-45.

¹⁸² Fig. 33 (Zanker 1988: Fig. 82) and Hallett 2005: pl.50.

¹⁸³ Fig. 34.

standing on a prow and holding an aplustre in his right hand. Another coin type issued by Sextus Pompey in Sicily in 42-40 BC also shows Neptune holding a trident and an aplustre and standing on a prow. A reverse type minted for Antony by P. Clodius, one of the *quattuorviri monetales* of 42 BC, depicts Aion standing on a globe.¹⁸⁴ Adopting a deity already chosen by Sextus Pompey and Antony for himself and following a standard Hellenistic pose, Octavian here styles himself as Neptune. An IMP CAESAR obverse type depicts Octavian wearing the laurel wreath very similar to that worn by Apollo.¹⁸⁵

I would like to draw specific attention here to the IMP CAESAR types depicting a herm bust and herm pillar of Octavian as Veiovis, respectively.¹⁸⁶ Octavian is portrayed wearing a laurel wreath and a thunderbolt is seen in the field on both the herm bust obverse and the herm pillar reverse. The deity has been variously interpreted: Mercury, Jupiter, Jupiter Feretrius, Terminus, Jupiter Terminus, Veiovis, and Veiovis-Terminus.¹⁸⁷ Chittenden here identifies Octavian as Mercury and, for instance, implies a comparison of this IMP CAESAR herm pillar to the reverse type of Prusias I that shows a herm depicting Hermes carrying a caduceus.¹⁸⁸ However, the IMP CAESAR herms do not portray any of the attributes of Mercury (e.g. wings or caduceus). To begin with, that this bust is simply Jupiter does not work. On all Republican coinage, Jupiter appears bearded and is never actually seen with a thunderbolt in the field of the coin. There is no reason to connect this herm to Terminus. The iconography of Terminus is uncertain and it can even be suggested, for instance by Ovid (*Fasti*, 2.641-2), that he was aniconic. Veiovis, on the other hand, is a syncretistic deity combining

¹⁸⁴ Fig. 35a (Mørkholm 1991: no.173), Mørkholm 1991: no.516, Hallett 2005: pl.66, *RRC* 457, 511/4a, and Fig. 35b (*RRC* 494/5).

¹⁸⁵ Fig. 36 (*RIC I*² 271)

Burnett 1983: 563.

¹⁸⁶ Fig. 37a and b

*RIC I*² 270 and 269a.

¹⁸⁷ Mercury (Chittenden 1945: 44), Jupiter (e.g. Koortbojian 2006: 186-188), Jupiter Feretrius (Zanker 1988: 56), Terminus (e.g. Kraft 1969: 209-210, *RIC I*² 270 and 269a), Jupiter Terminus (e.g. Albert 1981: 148-150), Veiovis (e.g. Alföldi 1997: 56), and Veiovis-Terminus (e.g. Liegle: 1941: 95-98).

¹⁸⁸ Chittenden 1945 and Mørkholm 1991: no.419.

elements of both Jupiter and Apollo, and is a popular figure found on Republican coins minted in the eighties BC. Furthermore, almost all the depictions of Veiovis have a thunderbolt in the field of the coin. The *tresviri monetales* of 86 BC depicted Veiovis with long pendant curls, an oak wreath, and a thunderbolt on the obverses of their *denarii*. In 85 BC and 84 BC, M. Fonteius and C. Licinius Macer, respectively, issued coins with rather similar portrayals of Veiovis, and on Fonteius' coin he is seen laureate.¹⁸⁹ As seen on Fig. 35b, Aion appears with attributes of Sol, Apollo, and Diana while holding a caduceus and a cornucopia. The eagle of Jupiter sits before him. A similar Aion figure with attributes of Apollo, Helios, Hermes, and Jupiter is found on a tetradrachm of Pharnaces I of Pontus.¹⁹⁰ Thus, Octavian's choice of a syncretistic deity here is not without precedence.

There was an already established Roman employment of portrait herms that seems to provide a more fitting reason for this particular depiction. The herm bust and herm pillar were the most common methods of displaying Roman portraits of Greeks. Cicero's Tusculum Academy, for instance, was decorated with a series of herms. Numerous herms of Greek intellectuals and Hellenistic rulers, such as the herm busts of Philetairos of Pergamum and Demetrius Poliorcetes, dating to the Late Republican period, were displayed at the Villa of Papyri at Herculaneum.¹⁹¹ Sauron suggests that these portrait herms may have been used for the purpose of heroizing the portrait subjects by depicting them in a form previously reserved for deities.¹⁹² Thus, I would identify these types as a herm bust and herm pillar of Octavian as Veiovis. The heroizing connotations of these Octavianic IMP CAESAR types then applies to the

¹⁸⁹ *RRC* 350A, Fig. 38a (*RRC* 353), and *RRC* 354/1. Another syncretistic deity with attributes of Apollo, Mercury, and Neptune is found on the obverse of *denarii* issued by L Iulius Bursio in 85 BC (*RRC* 352). See Alföldi 1997: 46-58.

¹⁹⁰ Fig. 38b (Mørkholm 1991: no.623).

See Alföldi 1997: 6-12.

¹⁹¹ Fig. 39a and b.

See Dillon 2006: 30-33.

¹⁹² Sauron 1980: 293.

overall heroizing theme of all these images of Octavian and so appropriately leads into the final discussion of this chapter: all the reverse types with figures of Octavian.

From 101 BC to c. 32 BC, only twelve reverse types depict figures of living personages. A coin minted in 101 BC shows Marius and his son in a triumphal quadriga. In 82 BC Sulla is depicted in a triumphal quadriga and in 80 BC as an equestrian statue. In 71 BC a gold *aureus* shows Pompey in a triumphal quadriga, crowned by Victory flying above. In 42 BC Q. Cornificius is portrayed in priestly garb, holding a lituus, and crowned by Juno Sospita. In 41 BC a coin depicts L. Staius Murcus raising up a female figure, perhaps Roma. Three reverse types of 38 BC portray Antony in various poses: dressed in priestly garb and holding a lituus, standing in a quadriga of hippocamps, and standing on a prow, holding a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. For Octavian, there are three issues with variations of a single type. In 43 BC, incidentally the first coin minted for Octavian, Octavian is depicted as an equestrian statue. Coins from 42 BC also depict this equestrian statue, and then in 41 BC, the equestrian statue is shown with the legend POPVL IVSSV. These Octavianic coins were the first instances on Roman coinage to show a living person on the obverse and reverse of the same coin.¹⁹³

It should be noted that figures of living personages do appear on the reverses of Hellenistic coins as well. On the “Poros decadrachms” mentioned above where Alexander the Great appears on horseback on the obverse, he also appears as a full-length figure dressed in military garb on the reverse. He holds a spear in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his right hand and is being crowned by Victory. Two types of didrachms from Hierapolis-Bambyke dated to c. 333-325 BC depict Alexander on horseback with the legend ‘LKSNDR. On drachms and hemidrachms minted in Ecbatana in c. 293-280 BC, the horseman on the reverses is identified either as

¹⁹³ *RRC* 326/1, Fig. 40a and b (*RRC* 367/1 and 381), *RRC* 402 and 509-510, Fig. 40c (*RRC* 533/2), 32c, and 40d (*RRC* 533/1). Figs. 41a-c (*RRC* 490/1, 490/3, 497/1, and 518/2).

Alexander or Seleucus. Recent scholarship, however, has attributed this figure to Seleucus. Seleucus II is depicted on bronze coins from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris dated c. 240-230 BC. On one reverse type he is shown dressed in military garb holding a spear and being crowned by Victory. On another he is seen on horseback and on yet another he is again on horseback spearing a fallen enemy.¹⁹⁴

What seems striking, then, is the increase in reverse types depicting a living person. In the period of c. 32-27 BC, there are thirteen reverse types portraying Octavian in various poses. While it is true that no living personage was portrayed with such variety over any number of years, how innovative in fact were these images of Octavian? If one examines not only the typological inventory of Republican coinage, but also the broader scope of Hellenistic visual media and contemporary Roman art, one will discover that these Octavianic images are not so innovative.

Hellenistic monarchs were honoured with various types of statues. The most common were life-size standing figures, but other types, what Smith calls “more prestigious”, were also employed such as equestrian and chariot groups.¹⁹⁵ These various types were later used by and for Roman promagistrates and generals first outside of Rome and then eventually within the city itself. The myriad of images with the figure of Octavian that is found on these CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins is thus a reflection of this Hellenistic and Late Republican tradition.

I will begin with the five reverse types portraying a doryphoros, or spear-bearing Octavian. There are three CAESAR DIVI F reverse types that show Octavian wearing a cuirass and a chlamys. On one type he is seen standing, raising his right hand in a gesture of *adlocutio*, and holding a spear over his left shoulder. On another he is seen

¹⁹⁴ Alexander the Great: Fig. 42a (Mørkholm 1991: no.44), and Seyrig 1971: pl.II.nos.8 and 9. See Holt 2003 and Dahmen 2007: 66n.1.

Seleucus I - Mørkholm 1991: nos.142-143. For this figure as Alexander, see Mørkholm 1991: nos.142-143 or as Seleucus see Hoover 2002.

Seleucus II: Figs. 42b-d (Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos.779, 709, and 767).

Again, it should be noted that living personages also appear on reverses types of Persian kings and satraps (e.g. Mørkholm 1991: nos.146-147, Alram 2012: Fig. 4.29, and Sinisi 2012: Fig. 15.10).

¹⁹⁵ Smith 1988: 18.

advancing, extending his right arm, and holding a spear in his left hand. Another type is a variety of this latter one: Octavian is seen holding a globe in his extended right arm.¹⁹⁶ The other two are types previously discussed, Figs. 5 and 3. Doryphoric statues represented military prowess and authority.¹⁹⁷ Doryphoric statues represented military prowess and authority. Polykleitos' Doryphoros of the fifth century BC became a model for such figures. This statue is of heroic size, had a muscled torso, and held a spear in the left hand.¹⁹⁸ Alexander the Great was called Doryphoros. Plutarch recalls Lysippus' view of Alexander's association to the spear: "not this [the thunderbolt] but the lance was his [Alexander's] true and proper attribute, whose glory Time could never take away from him."¹⁹⁹ There are numerous representations of Alexander with or without military garb standing and holding a spear. As seen on Fig. 42a, he is seen in military garb holding a spear. Others such as those of the Fouquet type, based on a copy of a Lysippan original, and the Stanford type show Alexander nude or nude with a chlamys holding a spear, respectively. Other Hellenistic monarchs were also portrayed standing in military garb and holding a spear such as Seleucus II on Fig. 42b and a Pergamene king, possibly Attalus I, depicted on a Pompeian wall painting.²⁰⁰ Fig. 40d shows Antony holding a spear also depicts in military garb.

Mannsperger suggests that the poses taken by Octavian on Figs. 43a and b are an allusion to peace and relates the position of the right hand on these coins to a peace-fides-alliance. A comparison is made to prior Roman Republican coins showing clasped hands (thus, the extended right arm of Octavian) and even to the earliest example of a right hand found in *RRC* – a *quadrans* from the third century BC.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Figs. 43a-c (*RIC I*² 253, 251, and *CBN I*: 5).

Octavian wears high boots on Fig. 43a. He is barefoot and wears a pteryges on Figs. 43b and c.

¹⁹⁷ On the spear as a universal symbol of such military superiority, see Alföldi 1959.

¹⁹⁸ Fig. 44a.

¹⁹⁹ Plutarch, *Moralia* 360D.

²⁰⁰ Alexander the Great - Stewart 1993: 161-171.

Attalus I - Pollini 1995: fig. 15.14.

²⁰¹ Mannsperger 1992.

Clasped hands: e.g. *RRC* 450/2; see also *RRC* 14/4.

However, the general consensus is that the type depicting Octavian raising his right hand refers to an *adlocutio* and that the types portraying Octavian with an extended right arm show him advancing.²⁰² I adhere to this general consensus. The gesture of *adlocutio* (i.e. a gesture of addressing troops) is also seen on Sulla's equestrian type. The extended right arm is also seen on three of the four Octavianic equestrian statue reverse types. The most famous example of a standing figure dressed in military garb in a gesture of *adlocutio* is of course the Prima Porta statue.²⁰³

Fig. 43c shows Octavian holding a globe in his outstretched right arm. A statue of Pompey the Great found near Pompey's theatre and now in the Palazzo Spada, nude and wearing a *chlamys* fastened by a fibula in the form of a Gorgon, holds a globe in his outstretched left hand.²⁰⁴ The display of a globe in the outstretched hand has connotations of a cosmocrator and also neatly leads us back to Fig. 5, the CAESAR DIVI F reverse type showing Octavian standing on a globe. According to Dio 37.21.2, Pompey was viewed as a world conqueror during his triumphal procession of 61 BC. As mentioned earlier, a statue of Julius Caesar was erected on the Capitol in 46 BC by a Senatorial decree. Weinstock suggests that a globe was placed next to this Capitoline statue of Caesar. Alföldi suggests that Caesar placed his right foot on top of a globe.²⁰⁵ Alföldi's interpretation seems correct. This statue, according to Dio 43.14.6, was mounted on an image of the *oikumene*. What is more, a painting from the proscenium at Athens dated to c. 290 BC shows Demetrius Poliorcetes mounted on a globe.²⁰⁶ Thus, not only deities, but mortals also could be seen standing with one foot on some type of object. In fact, the pose of a figure leaning forward with one foot raised on

²⁰² E.g. *BMCRE 1*: 611 and 609; *RIC I*² 253 and 251.

²⁰³ *Adlocutio*: Fig. 40b and 44b.

Later coin types issued by Gaius show figures similar to Fig. 43a and to the Prima Porta (*RIC I*²: Gaius 48 and 57).

Extended right arm: Figs. 41a and c.

²⁰⁴ Fig. 45

Hallett 2005: 337.

²⁰⁵ Weinstock 1971: 58 and Alföldi 1975: 159-160.

²⁰⁶ Duris, *FrGrHist.* 76 F 14.

some type of an object became one of the most common poses employed for depicting Hellenistic monarchs as well as Roman promagistrates and generals. A couple of Hellenistic examples are the Alexander Rondanini and the Naples “horned” ruler, possibly Demetrius Poliorcetes, that both have one foot set on a raised object.²⁰⁷ The earliest surviving example of a Roman in such a pose is the statue of C. Cartilius Poplicola from Ostia dated to c. 40 BC. Poplicola was duumvir of Ostia no less than eight times, and this statue was likely voted for him during his third time as duumvir.²⁰⁸ As mentioned earlier on Fig. 40d, Antony is seen standing on a prow, and later an obverse type from Pella dated to c. 26 BC portrays Augustus in military garb, holding a spear and standing on a prow with the legend IMP DIVI F ACTIO.²⁰⁹

Figs. 5 and 3 portray Octavian nude except for a chlamys. Fig. 5 depicts him with a sword belt and Fig. 3 depicts him holding a parazonium in his left hand that is on his hip in the same manner as Antony holds a sword on Fig. 40d. The most common “heroic figure” type consists of either a nude figure standing with a spear or a nude figure standing with a cloak bunched on the left shoulder holding a spear or a sword in hand and is by far the most basic pose for a Hellenistic monarch. As mentioned earlier, the image of a nude ruler with a spear can be found in great abundance as on bronzes of Lysippus depicting Alexander the Great. The Terme ruler of the third or second century BC follows this same pose as does the Levy ruler of the second or first century BC.²¹⁰ The first example of a Roman in the pose of a nude ruler with a sword and wearing a chlamys was the statue of the negotiator (businessman) C. Ofellius Ferus from the Agora of the Italians at Delos, dated to the second century BC. Another statue is that of the Foruli general dated to the first century BC. This figure wears a military cloak and a

²⁰⁷ Hallett 2005: pls.24 and 117.

A Pergamene inscription, *IvP* 246, records an armoured portrait of Attalus III that depicts him stepping on spoils.

²⁰⁸ Fig. 46a.

²⁰⁹ Fig. 46b

RPC I: 1548.

²¹⁰ Terme ruler: Fig.47a and Levy Ruler: Smith 1988: pl.33. See also Smith 1988: 164 for further reference on both of these statues.

sword belt. In the years just prior to Actium, a statue known as the Tusculum Octavian shows Octavian in much the same manner. The engraved gem of Octavian from the triumviral period discussed earlier shows him nude except for an aegis of Jupiter over his shoulder, resting on a spear in his left hand, right hand on hip. The Grimani Agrippa, also from c. 30 BC, again depicts a nude figure with a chlamys and sword belt.²¹¹

What is more, rostral columns were already in existence in the Roman Forum, such as the columna Maenia that was erected in 338 BC for the victory over Antium and the columna Duillia that was set up after the defeat of the Carthaginians in 260 BC. Statue-bearing columns were also rather common such as the columna Minucia. This IMP CAESAR type also bears a striking resemblance to a previously mentioned coin type of Sextus Pompey issued in Sicily in 42-40 BC that shows Neptune, holding a trident and an aplustre and standing on a prow, surmounted on the lighthouse of Pharos.²¹²

The CAESAR DIVI F type portraying an equestrian statue of Octavian follows in light of the equestrian types of Sulla and Octavian previously discussed.²¹³ This type has received varying descriptions. For instance, Sutherland says it portrays either Octavian's salutation from his troops, his arrival into Rome in 29 BC, or his *adventus* into Asia. Assenmaker suggests that this type refers to Octavian's *adventus* into Rome in 36 BC. Pollini, following Alföldi's attribution of Octavian's POPVL IVSSV type of 41 BC to a statue of Divus Julius erected under the *Lex Rufrena*, describes this CAESAR DIVI F reverse as another depiction of this statue of Caesar.²¹⁴ As discussed previously, Liegle and Albert indentify Octavian as Mars Ultor here. This type rather

²¹¹ C. Ofellius Verus: Fig.47b (Hallett 2005: 103-107), Foruli General: Fig.47c, Tusculum Octavian: Hallett 2005: pl.48, Octavian with the aegis of Jupiter: Hallett 2005: pl.50, and the Grimani Agrippa: Hallett 2005: pl.59.

²¹² *RRC* 242, 243, and 511/4a.

²¹³ Fig. 48
*RIC I*² 262.

²¹⁴ Sutherland 1976a: 149, Assenmaker 2008: 176, Alföldi 1973: 124-126, and Pollini 1990: 343-344.

portrays the equestrian statue of Octavian that was decreed by the Senate in 43 BC to be erected on the Rostra.²¹⁵ As mentioned earlier, three Octavianic coins minted prior to this CAESAR DIVI F reverse portray this statue. The first issue of this type, minted in 43 BC, depicts Octavian with an extended right arm on a stationary horse with the letters S C. *Aurei* and *denarii* issued in 42 BC portray the same statue with the addition of a lituus in Octavian's right hand and a rostrum below the statue. The POPVL IVSSV type of 41 BC diverges from these previous Octavianic coins in two ways: the horse is now galloping rather than stationary, and Octavian is seen semi-nude.²¹⁶ The CAESAR DIVI F reverse follows the style of this POPVL IVSSV type. The varieties found on these coins do not imply that the coins prior to the POPVL IVSSV type depict a projected design and that the POPVL IVSSV and CAESAR DIVI F types show the completed statue. Nor do they suggest that the POPVL IVSSV and CAESAR DIVI F types portray a completely different statue.²¹⁷ These coins depict symbolic representations of the equestrian statue voted in 43 BC. Zanker's proposal that the variants of the galloping horse and the semi-nude figure of Octavian attempt to outshine Sulla's *aureus* type of 81 BC that depicts a stationary horse and Sulla wearing a toga is rather speculative.²¹⁸ Sulla's equestrian coin type is not the first equestrian statue in the typological inventory of Roman coinage. Four equestrian types have been previously issued on Republican coinage; and so, the divergent clothing (or lack thereof) and positioning of the horse are not innovative on these coins of Octavian. The earliest equestrian type was minted in 114 BC by Mn. Aemilius Lepidus. This coin portrays a stationary horse. However, the type of the Marcian *gens* shows a galloping horse. The

²¹⁵ Velleius Paterculus 2.61.3.

See Appian *BC* 1.97.451 for Sulla's coin type depicting the gilded equestrian statue voted for him on his return to Rome in 81 BC and to be erected near the Rostra.

²¹⁶ Figs. 41a-c.

²¹⁷ Bergemann 1990: 161-163.

²¹⁸ Zanker 1988: 37-39.

coin minted by L. Marcius Philippus in 113 BC portrays a nude figure. The coin issued in 56 BC of another L. Marcius Philippus in fact shows a semi-nude figure.²¹⁹

The employment of equestrian statues clearly has a long tradition both in the East and in Rome. Equestrian statues became prominent monuments for Hellenistic monarchs in the late fourth and third centuries BC. For instance, equestrian statues were made for Alexander the Great and Demetrius Poliorcetes.²²⁰ The horseman type is also a popular image on Hellenistic coinage. As mentioned earlier, Alexander the Great, Seleucus I, and Seleucus II were depicted on horseback. Another type, minted c. 359-348 BC, shows a horseman with his right hand raised in salute and a coin of Cassander, c. 305-297 BC, depicts a horseman with an extended left arm.²²¹ It is later customary for Roman promagistrates and generals to rededicate these Hellenistic monuments to themselves as with this statue of Perseus of Macedon that was rededicated by L. Aemilius Lepidus at Delphi after the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC.²²² As mentioned above, equestrian reverse types, albeit of “ancestral” nature, were also issued, as with the coin of L. Marcius Philippus. Not only were equestrian statues erected for Sulla and Octavian, but also for Pompey and Caesar. There is in fact one tradition that says Caesar’s equestrian statue, which stood in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix, was a remodelled statue of Alexander made by Lysippus.²²³ It should also be noted that the hip-mantle worn by the semi-nude Octavian on this IMP CAESAR type was a rather established costume. For instance, the Tivoli general dated to c. 75-50 BC is seen wearing such a hip-mantle and is supported by a Hellenistic leather cuirass. Another example is the Cavenzano Navarch dated to the mid-late first century BC which is supported by a Hellenistic leather cuirass and holds a sheathed

²¹⁹ *RRC* 291, 293, 419, and 425.

The legend POPVL IVSSV does not have to refer to a rededication, of which there is no literary or epigraphic evidence, but perhaps is just a reference to the Senate designating Octavian as a *hostis* in 41 BC.

²²⁰ Smith 1988: pl.70.1-2.

²²¹ Mørholm 1991: nos.2 and 72.

²²² Hallett 2005: Fig. 8.

²²³ Statius, *Silv.* 1.1.84 and see Weinstock 1971:86-87.

sword in the “parade grip” in the left hand. The hip-mantle was also derived from Hellenistic tradition. For instance, a statue from Magnesia, dated to the second century BC, portrays a founder hero (or perhaps Alexander the Great) wearing a hip-mantle.²²⁴

Octavian in a triumphal chariot is depicted as both a CAESAR DIVI F reverse type as well as an IMP CAESAR reverse type.²²⁵ Again, these types follow in the line of those minted by Sulla and Pompey as discussed previously. What is more, chariot groups were also indeed employed to represent Hellenistic monarchs, such as the chariot groups of Antigonus I and Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens.²²⁶ In *Natural History* 34.78, Pliny records the erection of statues of Philip and Alexander in chariots. In a similar, though obviously not exactly parallel, manner to these coin types Alexander is depicted (posthumously) in an elephant quadriga.²²⁷ Chariots with triumphators standing in them were also erected in Rome in public places by permission of the Senate.²²⁸ Again, there is no reason to attribute this Octavianic chariot to Naulochus or to Actium. Weinstock employs Dio 49.18.6, which records that Octavian set up a chariot on the Rostra for Antony in 35 BC, to suggest that a chariot for Octavian (perhaps awarded in 36 BC) was perhaps already erected on the Capitol.²²⁹ However, this IMP CAESAR type may simply be just a symbolic representation and does not refer to any particular chariot.

The same figure of Octavian in a triumphal chariot is seen surmounted on an arch on another IMP CAESAR type, Fig. 4. Dio 51.19.1 states that one of the honours offered to Octavian after Actium was an arch in the Forum Romanum. He later records a Parthian arch, also in the Forum Romanum, in 54.8.3 that was awarded to Augustus in

²²⁴ Tivoli General: Fig. 49 and Hallett 2005: pls.72 and 75.

²²⁵ Figs. 50a and b.
*RIC I*² 263 and 264.

²²⁶ Smith 1988: 18.

²²⁷ Fig. 51

Mørkholm 1991: no.122.

²²⁸ Weinstock 1971: 56.

²²⁹ Weinstock 1971: 56.

20 BC on behalf of the return of Roman standards from Parthia in the same year. These varying accounts as well as the IMP CAESAR arch type and the Parthian arch reverse types minted from 19-16 BC at Pergamum, Spain, and Rome are heavily debated in scholarship. There is certainly a difference between the so-called Actian arch on the IMP CAESAR type and the Parthian arch reverse types (except for the types from Pergamum showing a single-bay arch); that is, the Actian arch is a single-bay arch while the Parthian arch is a triple-bay arch. A majority of scholars thus believe that a Parthian triple-bay arch replaced the single-bay arch. However, it seems more likely the arch built for Actium was a triple-bay arch and that after 20 BC it was modified by the addition of sculptural decorations and inscriptions to commemorate the return of the standards from Parthia. The single-bay arch depicted on the IMP CAESAR reverse and the *cistophori* from Pergamum may only be a symbolic representation showing just the central design.²³⁰

Arches erected on private initiative have long been seen in Rome. In 121 BC, a *foris* was erected by Q. Fabius Allobrogicus to commemorate his victory over the Allobroges. An arch dedicated to C. Verres, the proconsul of Sicily in 73-70 BC, was erected in Syracuse. This was the first recorded example of an honorific arch. He was contemporaneously called SOTER, on a dedicatory inscription also at Syracuse. Wallace-Hadrill rightly points out that Verres makes a good case study for the various honours that were awarded to Romans by the first century BC. Statues were erected for Verres and his son in Sicilian cities and in Rome. The Syracusan arch was surmounted by equestrian statues of them, and other gilded equestrian statues in their honour were erected in Rome. Indeed, Octavian's Actian arch was the first arch to be erected in

²³⁰ For a recent study on this debate, see Rich 1998: 97-115.

See Chapters 3.5 for more discussion on the Parthian arch and especially Chapter 4.3 for a study on symbolic representations of architecture on coins.

Rome by a Senatorial decree rather than by private initiative, but as pointed out followed the example of Verres' Syracusan arch.²³¹

The IMP CAESAR type portraying Octavian, veiled and laureate, ploughing with a yoke of oxen has caused much debate. The majority of scholars refer this coin to the founding of Nicopolis.²³² I do believe this coin alludes to Octavian's role in founding cities, but cannot be related to any specific foundation. An image of a priest with a yoke of oxen was issued by Caesar in Lampsacus in 45 BC.²³³ Antony imitates this Caesarian coin type on a reverse minted in Philippi in 42 BC.²³⁴ Octavian's coin follows in step with these types of Caesar and Antony. The role of being a *ktistes* was extremely important for Hellenistic monarchs as can be seen, for instance, in Alexander the Great's role as the *ktistes* of Alexandria. Republican promagistrates and generals were also founders of cities as was demonstrated above with the obverse portraits of Pompey that were issued at Pompeiopolis in 66 BC.²³⁵

The last IMP CAESAR reverse type under discussion portrays Octavian, togate, seated on a curule chair, holding Victory in his right hand. Victory faces away from Octavian and holds a wreath and palm branch.²³⁶ Koortbojian says "this coin's image was audacious and its symbolism exorbitant."²³⁷ His interpretation is an example of how these CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR coins are often studied in isolation. His principal argument is that this IMP CAESAR reverse is so daring because it adopts for Octavian a role previously reserved for deities, that is, as the "bringer of Victory". Indeed, prior Republican and Hellenistic coins only showed deities holding Victory in

²³¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 155.

See also Cicero's account, *Verr.* 2.2.154. Note that the statues were nude in the style of the Greeks.

²³² Fig. 52

*RIC I*² 272.

E.g. Kraft 1969:211-215.

²³³ *RPC I*: 2268-2269.

²³⁴ *RPC I*: 1646.

²³⁵ Fig. 53

²³⁶ Fig.54

*RIC I*² 270.

²³⁷ Koortbojian 2006: 184.

their hand. However, as has been demonstrated throughout this chapter, this is not the first numismatic representation of a mortal in a pose previously reserved for deities. Obverse portraiture of living men displays divine attributes. Living men are shown in a quadriga in the exact manner as Victory is depicted in a biga. Fig. 5 depicts Octavian in a pose previously used for deities and heroes. What is more, all of these portrayals of living men were already under development before the time these CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series began to be minted.

The LEGES ET IVRA *aureus* has similar iconography to this IMP CAESAR reverse type. It also depicts Octavian togate and seated on a curule chair, holding a scroll outwards. Both of these images have parallels in Republican art and also demonstrate strong Hellenistic influence. I will begin with the Republican precedents. On Republican coins, magistrates do appear seated such as on a coin type from 100 BC that depicts two quaestors seated on a *subsellium*. Although of a slightly different context and minted posthumously, a coin of 56 BC shows Sulla seated on a curule chair with Bocchus in front of him and Jugurtha kneeling behind him.²³⁸ Seated togate sculptural figures or reliefs composed of curule chairs and magistrates were prominent by the first century BC. A close parallel to the LEGES ET IVRA type can be found on a relief from Via Casilina, dated to c. 30 BC, showing a praetor standing by a curule chair, holding a scroll above a *scrinium*.²³⁹

Indeed, the image of a seated Hellenistic monarch is rare. There is one fresco from Boscoreale from 40 BC that depicts a seated Hellenistic monarch.²⁴⁰ However, it is the influence of some Hellenistic coin types that offers the most interest. Scholars tend to connect the image of Octavian seated and holding a statue of Victory to the

²³⁸ *RRC* 330 and 426/1.

²³⁹ Fig. 55

See Schäfer 1989: 126ff. for a thorough study of these statues and reliefs.

²⁴⁰ Hallett 2005: pl.28.

seated statue of Zeus Nikephoros that was sculpted by Pheidias.²⁴¹ As mentioned above, Nike in the hand of some deity indeed became a commonplace Greek motif since the time Pheidias sculpted his Athena Parthenos and Zeus Olympios statues. Tetradrachms minted for Alexander depicted a seated Zeus holding an eagle and a sceptre. After 301 BC, Seleucus I Nicator issued coins depicting Zeus seated, holding Victory who offers him a wreath as well as this Alexander type.²⁴² It is true that an image of a deity holding Victory enters Roman numismatic typology in 44 BC with the Caesarian reverse type that depicts a standing Venus holding Victory facing away from her. On two issues Venus is even seated, like the seated Octavian on the reverses in question, holding Victory facing outwards.²⁴³ However, there is a better precedent, and again, a Hellenistic one. Rich has just recently made a fascinating connection between these IMP CAESAR and LEGES ET IVRA reverses to yet another coin type of Lysimachus. From 297 BC, Lysimachus issued coins portraying Athena seated, holding Victory who holds out a wreath, crowning the first letter of Lysimachus' name.²⁴⁴ Octavian takes Athena's position and instead of Nike crowning Lysimachus' name, Victory now offers her wreath to an unseen recipient (i.e. the Roman People) on the IMP CAESAR reverse while on the LEGES ET IVRA reverse Octavian offers a scroll (i.e. a restoration of statutes and laws) to an unseen recipient (i.e. the Roman People).

I believe the emphasis both coins place on the *populus Romanus* (although only implied through these iconographical compositions) is important here. As mentioned earlier, the LEGES ET IVRA reverse is also one of the first instances where the people of Rome are referenced in some way on Roman coinage, and as will be discussed later,

²⁴¹ E.g. Kuttner 1995: 54, Rich and Williams 1999: 180.

²⁴² Fig. 56

Mørkholm 1991: nos.9 and 155-156.

²⁴³ *RRC* e.g. 480/4 and 480/7a-b.

Minerva is also seen standing and holding Victory (*RRC* 494/37).

²⁴⁴ Fig. 57

Mørkholm 1991: nos.178-182 and 490-493.

I thank John Rich for being so kind as to send me his forthcoming article, "Making the Emergency Permanent: Auctoritas, and the Evolution of the Principate of Augustus", in which he makes this connection. Rich 2013: 99-100.

there is a boom of the abbreviation P R on legends of coins minted in c. 19-16 BC at Rome, Spain, and Pergamum which advertise consensus and constitutionality as one of their key themes. Moreover, it is the first time Octavian is portrayed in a civic role. Now that the portrayal of living personages on coins was becoming a norm, it should not be so surprising to find the figure of Octavian performing a civic act – the annulment of his triumviral acts and other measures made in 28 BC.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, a close examination of prior Roman Republican coinage as well as other contemporary Roman visual media reveals that the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series of c. 32-27 BC as well as the other Octavianic coins of 29-27 BC should not be classified as “imperial” coinage and should not be separated from catalogues of Roman Republican coinage. What is new to Roman coinage is a boom in images of a living personage that thus cements a new typological entry: full-length or seated figures of a living person. This does not mean that these images are also new to the broader context of Roman art. Classification of this group of Octavianic coins should not only be based on the inventory of prior Roman Republican numismatic typology. The various ways in which Octavian is displayed is not new to recent Republican artistic trends particularly from the period of Sulla onwards. Late Republican promagistrates and generals styled themselves in the tradition of the various modes of representing Hellenistic monarchs. In the same way, Octavian styles himself in a myriad of roles: as a military commander, world conquerer, founder, and triumphator. Thus, a study of these Octavianic coins requires an analysis of both Hellenistic and Late Republican visual media. For instance, there are numerous debts in Late Republican coinage to Hellenistic coinage. It can be seen that Octavian is particularly depicted by means of the conventional “heroic portrait” and “heroic figure”

types that developed in the Hellenistic period and were adopted in the Late Republic. The CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series should be characterized as in a “Hellenistic monarchic” tradition. What was first viewed in other Roman artistic media, such as sculpture, can now be seen through the medium of Roman coinage. This is what is new.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROMAN MINT OF 23-12 BC

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The coinage minted in Rome from 23 BC to 12 BC is highly complex. The mint at Rome, having been closed since 40 BC, reopened and issued gold, silver, and bronze coins that were struck by the *tresviri monetales*. Although it is included in standard numismatic catalogues of “imperial” Roman coinage, it is referred to in these volumes as “Senatorial” because they were explicitly struck by the *tresviri monetales*.²⁴⁵ The general consensus of scholars is to trace a gradual typological development from strictly “Republican” types of 19 BC to “transitional” types in 16 BC and then to purely “imperial” types in 13-12 BC.²⁴⁶ This assumption is based primarily on an oversimplification: the issues of 19 BC are partially devoted to moneyers’ types while in 16 BC only a few moneyers’ types are depicted, and by 13-12 BC, all types are devoted to Augustus and to members of his family. A closer examination of typology, however, reveals a different picture.

This chapter will thus first discuss the Augustus/Numa *asses* of 23 BC minted by Cn. Calpurnius Piso, L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus. Then, the gold and silver coins of the *collegium* of P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Aquillius Florus, and M. Durmius will be reassessed. The numismatic representation of an *aurea aetas* will be discussed in a section on M. Sanquinius’ coins of 17 BC while the colleges of 16 BC will be included in a study on the Augustan development of coin legends and “honorific” types. Coins issued at other Augustan mints, particularly at Spain (at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia), will also feature in these two examinations. Lastly, some elements on the *aurei* and *denarii* minted at Rome in 13-12

²⁴⁵ E.g. *BMCRE I*: xciv.

²⁴⁶ This is the view of Sutherland 1943.

BC will be considered to determine what typological progression, if any, took place at Rome between 23 BC and 12 BC.

3.2 THE AUGUSTUS/NUMA ASSES OF 23 BC²⁴⁷

Asses issued at the mint of Rome by three moneyers, Cn. Calpurnius Piso (son of the Piso who was consul in 23 BC), L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus, depict the head of Augustus on the obverse and the head of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, on the reverse. While it could be said that Calpurnius Piso simply minted a “legendary ancestral” type, in that the *gens* Calpurnia claimed descent from Numa, I will argue that the portrayal of Numa here has a wider significance. Augustus too could claim descent from Numa because Julius Caesar had claimed royal descent from Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa and fourth king of Rome, through his aunt Julia.²⁴⁸ Although the dating of these *asses* is widely debated, they can most plausibly be assigned to 23 BC. This was the year when the *Ludi Saeculares* were originally planned to take place, and also in which Virgil composed Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. Numa is traditionally said to have been born on Rome’s foundation day, the date of the beginning of the first Roman *saeculum* according to the Etruscans.²⁴⁹ He appears in Virgil’s “parade of heroes” in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* as he later does in Augustus’ “hall of fame” in the Forum Augustum. The employment of a common Republican numismatic motif, that is, the “ancestral portrait” type – here, the portrait of a legendary royal ancestor – is now also chosen to refer to Augustus at a time when there was a renewed interest in the history of Rome.

²⁴⁷ This section was presented at an international conference on *La costruzione del mito augusteo* held in Udine, Italy on June 9-11th, 2011. I would like to especially thank William Fitzgerald for the invitation to deliver a paper, the organizers for the opportunity to participate, and all those who were in attendance for their helpful comments.

²⁴⁸ Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 6.

²⁴⁹ Plutarch, *Numa* 3.6.

See also Weinstock 1971: 194 and Hall 1986: 2588-2589.

Cn. Calpurnius Piso, L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus all minted the same types of *sestertii*, *dupondii*, and *asses* in their own names. Each *sestertius* shows an oak wreath flanked by two laurel branches with the legend OB CIVIS SERVATOS on the obverse and the moneyer's name and III VIR (*triumvir*) AAA FF (*aere argento auro flando feriundo*) around S(enatus) C(onsulto) on the reverse. Each *dupondius* shows the legend AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC(ia) POTES(T)AS within an oak wreath on the obverse and the moneyer's name and III VIR AAA FF around S C on the reverse. Each non-Numa *as* portrays a bare head of Augustus on the obverse with the legend CAESAR AVGVST TRIBVNIC POTES(T) on the obverse and the moneyer's name and III VIR AAA FF around S C on the reverse.²⁵⁰

There are two groups of these rare Augustus/Numa *asses*. They are rare because there are fewer than ten specimens known in existence. The first group, minted jointly by all three moneyers and consisting of five specimens, has an obverse depicting a laureate head of Augustus with the legend CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST, and a reverse showing Numa wearing a diadem (without loose ends at the back of his neck) with a legend bearing some variation of the names of all these moneyers. There are three varying forms of this reverse legend: (1) CN PISO L SVRDIN C PLOT RVF, (2) CN PISO C PLOT L SVRDIN, and (3) CN PISO C PLOTIVS L SVRDIN.²⁵¹ The second group, minted only by Cn. Calpurnius Piso and consisting of three specimens, has an obverse portraying a bare head of Augustus with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES(T) and a reverse showing Numa wearing a diadem (with loose ends at the back of his neck) with the legend CN PISO CN F III VIR AAA FF.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Figs. 58a-c
*RIC I*² 380-89.

²⁵¹ Figs. 59a-e
*RIC I*² 390-393, *CBN I*: 432, *BMCRE I*: p.28, *RIC I*: 64-66, *BMCRR 2*: p.92-93, Cohen 1880: 380-1, and Babelon 1886: p.306. n.36.

²⁵² Figs. 59f-h
*RIC I*² 394-396, *CBN I*: 433, *AMCRE* 469, *BMCRE I*: p.28, *BMCRR 2*: p.90, Cohen 1880: 379, and Babelon 1886: p.306.n.37.

Kraft claims that the obverse head on the CAESAR DIVI F *asses* matches the head of Julius Caesar on the reverses of *aurei* and *denarii* of M. Sanquinius minted at Rome in 17 BC, and so, must also be of Julius Caesar and date to c. 17 BC. Giard and Burnett also identify the CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST obverse heads as Julius Caesar, although Giard dates these *asses* to 15 BC while Burnett prefers 23 BC.²⁵³ However, since 42 BC, the year in which Julius Caesar was deified as *Divus Iulius*, Octavianic/Augustan coins that show portraits of Julius Caesar are either accompanied by the identifying legend DIVOS IVLIVS or by a depiction of a star or comet as the *sidus Iulium*.²⁵⁴ In fact, Kraft attempts to support his argument by providing an example of an Octavianic coin that shows a portrait of Julius Caesar without an identifying legend. This Octavianic coin minted at Gaul in 38 BC depicts an obverse portrait of Julius Caesar with the legend IMP DIVI IVLI F TER III VIR R P C.²⁵⁵ Kraft says that just as this legend does not identify whose portrait is depicted on the coin, the CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST legend on these Numa *asses* does not have to correspond to a portrait of Augustus. However, he fails to note that the *sidus Iulium* that is seen before the forehead of the obverse head on the Octavianic coin is what then identifies this as a portrait of Julius Caesar. The *sidus Iulium* clearly does not appear on any of the obverse heads on these Numa *asses*. There is no doubt that the CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST obverse heads are portraits of Augustus. They are also identified as such by Cohen, Babelon, Willers, Grueber, Sydenham, Mattingly, Grant, Gagé, Sutherland, Wallace-Hadrill, DeRose Evans, and Galinsky.²⁵⁶ Some of these scholars describe a couple of these obverses as bare-headed. Cohen, Sydenham, Mattingly, and Sutherland

²⁵³ Figs. 60 and 61

*RIC I*² 337-340.

Kraft 1952/3: 77-79, *CBN I*: p.103, and Burnett 1977: 48.

²⁵⁴ Figs. 62a-c. See also figs. 60-61.

RRC 535/1, 534/2, 534/1, and 540; *RIC I*² 415.

²⁵⁵ Fig. 62c.

²⁵⁶ Cohen 1880: 380-381, Babelon 1886: p.306.n.36, Willers 1909: 134, *BMCRR* 2: p.92-93, *RIC I*: 64-66, *BMCRE I*: p.28, Grant 1953: 100-106, Gagé 1955: 310-311, *RIC I*² 390-393, Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 82-83, DeRose Evans 1992: 141-144, and Galinsky 1996: 34-37.

catalogue the obverse head on Fig. 59b as bare-headed.²⁵⁷ Sydenham, Mattingly, and Sutherland also describe Augustus' head on Figs. 59a and 59c as bare-headed.²⁵⁸ It is clear, however, that the obverse head on Fig. 59a is laureate. The obverses on Fig. 59b and c are of the same die as Fig. 59a, and so, these heads are also laureate. They are unfortunately extremely worn. Figs. 59c and 59e are also extremely worn, but traces of a laureate obverse head can be seen on both coins.

It has been suggested by Burnett that the three extant coins of the second group are modern forgeries.²⁵⁹ According to Burnett, there are too many disquieting features in the reverse portraiture, lettering, weight, and die diameter of these coins. The reverse portraits of the second group show a round beard while those of the first group depict a pointed beard. The lettering on these coins is too neatly executed as compared to that on the first group as well as on Piso's other *asses*. One of these specimens weighs 14.92g, and they have a flan size of 30mm. However, it is quite possible that the differences in reverse portraiture as well in the lettering could just be the result of stylistic variations. The same can be said of the obverse portraiture of Augustus. The obverse portraits of the first group depict small heads while those of the second group show large heads. The weights of the five specimens of the first group are 12.65, 11.16, 9.24, 7.89, and 6.05g. The weights of the three specimens of the second group are 14.92, 12.13, and 8.67g. *Asses* at this time are usually not more than 13g, but it is not unheard of that some can weigh more. For instance, some non-Numa *asses* of the *collegium* of Piso, Surdinus, and Rufus weigh 13.08, 14.04, and 16.09g.²⁶⁰ The average die diameter of the coins in the first group is c. 23mm. Again, it is a standard flan size for *asses* at this time, but not a rule. For instance, some non-Numa *asses* of this same

²⁵⁷ Cohen 1880: 380, *RIC I*: 64, and *RIC I*² 391.

²⁵⁸ *RIC I*: 55-66, *BMCRE I*: p.28, and *RIC I*² 392-393.

²⁵⁹ Burnett 1977: 51-52.

See also Amandry 2009 on the authenticity of an *as* of C. Plotius Rufus (Mazzini 503).

²⁶⁰ *CBN I*: 488; Berlin Münzkabinett: 18208137 and 18208632.

collegium have die diameters of c. 27-30 mm.²⁶¹ Thus, these three specimens should not be rejected and will be treated here as authentic for the sake of my argument, although the essence of the argument does not depend on them.

There has been much debate about the year this college of moneyers minted. The years suggested range from 23 BC to 15 BC. These moneyers could not have minted earlier than 23 BC. The mint at Rome had been closed since 40 BC, and because these moneyers' *dupondii* and *asses* bear the legend TRIBVNIC POTES, this college could not have started minting before 23 BC, the year when Augustus was granted *tribunicia potestas*. Scholars agree that *aurei* and *denarii* did not begin to be minted at Rome until 19 BC because the type content of these precious metals refers to events such as Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC.²⁶² They disagree, however, on the date when *aes* coinage was reintroduced at Rome. They either suggest 23 BC or 19 BC.²⁶³ Those scholars who prefer 23 BC also attribute the *collegium* of Piso, Surdinus, and Rufus as the first college to mint again at Rome while those who prefer 19 BC do not assign this college such a role. Grant, Kraft, Bay, Giard, and Sutherland opt for various dates between 19 BC and 15 BC; for instance, Grant and Kraft favour c. 17 BC while Giard and Sutherland prefer 15 BC.²⁶⁴ Mattingly and Burnett have suggested 23 BC.²⁶⁵ Burnett notes that datings after the twenties BC are excluded by a hoard found at Velia, including fifteen Augustan bronzes (fourteen of these coins were from the college of Calpurnius Piso, Naevius Surdinus, and Plotius Rufus), that was deposited before 19 BC. These bronzes were *sestertii*, *dupondii*, and non-Numa *asses*.²⁶⁶ The hoard evidence is not the only reason to support the date of 23 BC. As

²⁶¹ Berlin Münzkabinett: 18208686, 18208628, and 18208632.

²⁶² *RIC I*² 278-320.

²⁶³ For a concise summary of this debate, see Lacey 1996: 156n.7.

²⁶⁴ Grant 1953: 100-106, Kraft 1952/3:74ff., Bay 1972: 115, *CBN I*: p.103 and *RIC I*²: 71.

Sutherland, for instance, lists the *collegium* of Q. Aelius Lamia, C. Marcius Censorinus, and T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus as the first college to issue *aes* again at Rome in 18 BC (*RIC I*² 323-336).

²⁶⁵ *BMCRE I*: p.28-32 and Burnett 1977: 51.

²⁶⁶ Burnett 1977: 50 and Pontrandolfo 1971/2.

mentioned above, Kraft argues for 17 BC because of the staging of the Secular Games in that year. Kraft's connection to the *Ludi Saeculares* is not unfounded, but the association that should be made is to the proposed Secular Games of 23 BC. 23 BC has also been accepted by Wallace-Hadrill, DeRose Evans, and Galinsky.²⁶⁷ This college of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus, then, was the first college of moneyers to issue coins when the mint at Rome reopened in 23 BC.

3.2.1 Numa and Romulus

Numa followed Romulus as the second king of Rome. Romulus and Numa served together as specific examples for Augustus and merged together in his reign and character. Romulus was by tradition known as a warrior king while Numa was by tradition known as a priest king. Although they were different, together they formed a model for successful governance. Ancient texts describe the opposing sides of Romulus and Numa as essentially working together for the benefit of Rome. For instance, Livy 1.21.5 writes: "thus, two kings, each in his own way, one by war, the other by peace, increased the nation. The state was not only strong, but also organized in the arts of both war and peace."²⁶⁸ Concerning the auspices of Romulus and the *sacra* of Numa, Cicero writes in *De Natura Deorum* 3.2.5 that "Romulus, by founding the ritual of taking the auspices, and Numa, by founding the *sacra*, laid the foundations of our state."²⁶⁹

Romulus founded the city of Rome by means of augury, and established the cults of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Stator. As a coin of 50 BC illustrates, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius housed the time-honored *spolia opima*, or spoils taken from an

The Livno and Calvatone hoards also imply that Piso's college was the first Augustan *collegium* to mint coins at Rome. For further reference, see Burnett 1977: 49 and Walker and Burnett 1981a: 9.

²⁶⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 85, DeRose Evans 1992: 143, and Galinsky 1996: 35.

For recent prosopographical studies of Augustan moneyers, including Piso's *collegium*, see Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 85-87 and Leclerc 2001.

²⁶⁸ *Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt...cum valida tum temperate et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.*

²⁶⁹ *Romulum auspiciis Numam sacris constitutis fundamenta iecisse nostrae civitatis.*

enemy commander.²⁷⁰ From the beginning of Octavian's rise to power, he associated himself with Romulus. When he took auspices in 43 BC as a consul, it was reported that twelve vultures appeared, the same number that was seen when Romulus was founding Rome.²⁷¹ Octavian performed one of the most important auguries, the *augurium salutis*, in 29 BC. That the Senate first offered Octavian the name Romulus clearly reflects his desire to be connected to Romulus. The name Augustus, while avoiding the blatant regal connotations of Romulus, is obviously associated with two terms related to Romulus - *augur* and *augere*.²⁷² Whereas the rebuilding of the 82 temples is mentioned in *Res Gestae* 20.4, the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is presented as one of his own foundations in *Res Gestae* 19. Romulus is depicted on the northern half of the west panel of the Ara Pacis and played a principal role as the winner of *spolia opima* in the Forum Augustum where his statue stood in the central niche of the southeast exedra.²⁷³

On the other hand, Numa's life was said to have been surrounded by religion. He not only established priestly colleges, but also instituted cults and piety. He built the temple of Janus Geminus.²⁷⁴ This temple, near the dividing point between the Forum Romanum and the Comitium, was a rectangular structure with doors at each end.²⁷⁵ The doors symbolized the passing from war to peace and were closed whenever there was peace throughout Rome's dominions. They were closed throughout the entire

²⁷⁰ Fig. 63

RRC 439.

Throughout Roman history, generals strove to repeat Romulus' victory and to dedicate their own spoils to Jupiter Feretrius. During the Roman victory over the Caeninenses, Romulus slew the enemy commander Acron and captured his armour. He thus dedicated these spoils to Jupiter Feretrius as *spolia opima*. The order of events that followed Romulus' triumph may be rendered in this way: Romulus fit the spoils on a frame, deposited the frame next to an oak, established the boundaries for the sacred enclosure to Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, and finally granted the epithet *Feretrius* to Jupiter.

²⁷¹ Appian *B.C.* 3.13.94.

²⁷² Livy's use of the adjective *augustior* in 1.7.9-10 links Augustus to Romulus.

²⁷³ Figs. 64 and 65.

²⁷⁴ Livy 1.19.2.

²⁷⁵ Fig. 115 (*RIC I*²: Nero 584).

A detailed description of this temple is given by Procopius (*Bell. Goth.* 1.25.19).

reign of Numa.²⁷⁶ The cult of Fides and the temple to the deified Romulus, the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal Hill, were also said to have been established by Numa. The Regia, a consecrated *templum* containing *sacraria*, in the Forum Romanum is attributed to Numa. The temple of Vesta, next to the *Atrium Vestae* and the Regia, is also said to have been founded by Numa.²⁷⁷ This circular temple housed Rome's most sacred objects: the eternal fire of Vesta, the *Palladium*, and the *Penates*. Numa was also said to have built an altar to Jupiter Elicius, the god of lightning, on the Aventine Hill.

Numa is credited with instituting some of the major priesthoods of the Roman state religion. According to Livy 1.20, he created the *Flamen Dialis*; later he added a *flamen* for Mars and one for Quirinus. He was associated with the organization of the *pontifices*, the Vestals, and the establishment of the *Salii* and the *fetiales*. He created the *Salii* as priests of Mars who were in charge of the sacred *ancilia*, the legendary buckler shields of Mars.²⁷⁸ He created the sacred college of the *fetiales* in order to supervise the declarations of war and peace.²⁷⁹ Rehak has proposed that it is Numa, not Aeneas, who is represented sacrificing on the southern half of the west panel of the Ara Pacis, and that the panel depicts Numa as the originator of the Fetial Law, sacrificing a sow with a foreign king to confirm peace.²⁸⁰ With this in mind, the portrayal and location of Augustus on the Ara Pacis may become clearer. Romulus and Roma are a pair as are Numa and Pax. Numa and Augustus are the only male figures who are garlanded and veiled. Augustus is strategically located on the south frieze rather than on the north frieze, making the altar's emphasis on peace especially prominent. It is thus quite possible that this particular male figure on the altar can be viewed as Numa

²⁷⁶ Before the time of Numa, it seems that a bridge carrying the Sacra Via over the Cloaca Maxima was in this place. Today this temple is most likely the small brick and travertine structure at the corner of the Basilica Paulli facing the Curia (Haselberger 2002: 148).

²⁷⁷ Plutarch, *Numa* 11.1.

²⁷⁸ The Salian *ancilia* can be seen on an Augustan coin minted in 17 BC at Rome (Fig. 66 – *RIC I*² 343).

²⁷⁹ For a comprehensive survey of Numa's religious reforms, see Hooker 1963.

²⁸⁰ Fig. 67.
Rehak 2001.

and/or Aeneas; and so, would have evoked “an intentional multiplicity of associations whereby the viewer became an active participant in determining them.”²⁸¹

3.2.2 “Ancestral Portrait” CoinTypes and the Legendary Kings of Rome

Towards the end of the second century BC, “familial” types commemorating the deeds of the ancestors of the moneyers began to be depicted on Roman Republican coins. It is traditionally said that the first “familial” coin type was C. Minucius Augurinus’ reverse, depicting the Columna Minucia, that was minted in 135 BC.²⁸² The earliest “ancestral portrait” on a coin is the legendary Fons, son of Janus, on a coin from c. 114-113 BC of C. Fonteius.²⁸³ Portraits of legendary kings in other artistic media were produced earlier than the late second century BC; for instance, the statues of the seven kings of Rome on the Capitoline were erected in the third century BC in the aftermath of the Pyrrhic War.²⁸⁴ The first decade and a half of the first century BC saw obverse portraits on Roman coins of various ancestors, including Numa and Ancus Marcius.

It was traditionally claimed that Numa’s sons, Mamercus (Aemylos), Pompo, Pinus, and Calpus, are the founders of the *gentes Aemelia, Pomponia, Pinaria*, and *Calpurnia*, respectively.²⁸⁵ The *Marcii* were said to have originated from Numa’s daughter through Ancus Marcius.²⁸⁶ *Denarii* minted by L. Pomponius Molo in 97 BC depict a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a sacrificial scene on the reverse with the legend NVMA POMPIL. Numa is seen unveiled, beardless with no diadem, holding a lituus to the left of a flaming altar while a *victimarius* brings a goat from the

²⁸¹ Galinsky 1996: 37.

²⁸² *RRC* 242.

²⁸³ Fig. 68

RRC 290/1.

²⁸⁴ Pliny *NH* 33.9-10.

For further reference on this Capitoline statuary group, see DeRose Evans 1990.

²⁸⁵ Plutarch, *Numa* 21.

²⁸⁶ Cicero, *De Republica* 2.18.33.

right.²⁸⁷ In 86 BC Gaius Marcius Censorinus issued both *denarii* and *asses* with jugate heads of Numa and Ancus Marcius. On both these denominations Numa is bearded wearing a diadem with loose ends at back of his neck, while Ancus Marcius is not bearded, but is diademed.²⁸⁸ In 56 BC L. Marcius Philippus issued an obverse portrait of Ancus Marcius wearing a diadem, with a *lituus* behind him.²⁸⁹ In 49 BC Cn. Calpurnius Piso, later consul in 23 BC, issued an obverse portrait of Numa, bearded, wearing a diadem with loose ends at the back of his neck inscribed NVMA presumably to advertise his family's claim of descent.²⁹⁰

A survey of the coin portraiture of the legendary kings of Rome shows that there was an iconographic tradition for depicting these kings. The portrayals were obviously not accurate or realistic, but idealized images. Zehnacker implies that the search for ancient statues or various *imagines maiorum* as models for these coin portraits is not of primary importance; what matters is that these coin portraits showed these kings in an idealized, Hellenized manner reflecting an air of great antiquity.²⁹¹ While these kings do exhibit Roman physiognomy, there is a tendency to portray some of them as Hellenistic monarchs. Some of these kings have archaizing, Italic features such as straight hair and a thick beard.²⁹² The portrait of Titus Tatius minted in 89 BC by L. Titurius Sabinus depicts straight, thick hair combed over his forehead and a full beard. Bieber says his face is that of a "peasant, in purely Italic style."²⁹³ On both the *denarii*

²⁸⁷ Fig. 69

RRC 334/1.

²⁸⁸ Fig. 70a-c

RRC 346/1, 3, and 4a.

²⁸⁹ Fig. 71

RRC 425.

²⁹⁰ Fig. 72

RRC 446.

²⁹¹ Zehnacker 1973: 984.

DeRose Evans' 1990 study focuses on comparing the Capitoline statuary group of Roman kings to coin portraits while Jongkees' 1965 study examines the tradition of primitive *imagines maiorum*.

²⁹² It is known that men wore long hair and had long beards during the regal period. It was not until around 300 BC that the first barbers came to Rome from Sicily (Varro, *Rust.* 2.11.10).

²⁹³ Fig. 73a

RRC 344.

Bieber 1973: 876.

and *asses* of C. Marcius Censorinus, Numa is seen with straight hair covering his forehead and a short, curly beard. On Cn. Calpurnius Piso's *denarii* of 49 BC and as well as on the *asses* of 23 BC, Numa is portrayed again with long straight hair and with a long, straight, and neatly combed beard. It can also be pointed out that on the *asses* of 23 BC both Augustus and Numa appear with the same distinctive Roman nose.²⁹⁴ However, characteristics of Hellenistic monarchs also abound. The later portrait of Titus Tatius by T. Vettius Sabinus in 70 BC depicts him with upturned eyes in the style of Alexander the Great in contrast to the portrait of Titus Tatius from 89 BC.²⁹⁵ Of all the kings portrayed on coins, Numa and Ancus Marcius are the only kings to be depicted with diadems, and they are invariably portrayed in this manner, except for Pomponius Molo's reverse. Even here, though, it should be noted that Numa is sacrificing in the manner of the *Graecus ritus* without his head veiled. The diadem is an adoption of that worn by the Diadochi, the successors of Alexander the Great. These Hellenistic diadems can be seen with or without loose ends at the back of the neck. On coin portraits, the diadem is generally depicted with loose ends as seen, for instance, on coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Ptolemy I.²⁹⁶ Sculptured heads can also show a diadem with loose ends such as the Louvre head of Antiochus III.²⁹⁷ However, they more generally depict diadems without loose ends, such as the Ny Carlsberg head of Attalus III and the Villa of Papyri head of Seleucus I.²⁹⁸ Coin portraits can also show a diadem without loose ends, such as on coins portraying Seleucus I.²⁹⁹

Despite the fact that Numa is portrayed in a slightly different manner by Censorinus and by the Pisones - that is on the coins of Censorinus he is seen with a

²⁹⁴ Kellum 1998: 518.

²⁹⁵ Compare figs. 73a and 73b.

RRC 404.

²⁹⁶ Figs. 74a and b.

Mørholm 1991: nos. 173 and 97.

²⁹⁷ Fig. 75.

²⁹⁸ Figs. 76a and b.

²⁹⁹ Fig. 77

Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 309.4.

For a concise survey of the importance of the Hellenistic royal diadem, see Smith 1988: 34-40.

short curly beard while on the coins of the Pisones he is seen with a long beard - he is invariably portrayed with a diadem. The conventional portrait of Numa, then, is bearded and wearing a diadem. A later statue of Numa from the House of the Vestals dated to the Antonine period also portrays Numa with a diadem.³⁰⁰ Ancus Marcius is also always seen with a diadem without loose ends at the back of the neck, and the type of L. Marcius Philippus in particular is considered a “purely Hellenistic type”.³⁰¹ Bieber describes Ancus as having “an oldish, but beardless face, with a purely Roman physiognomy which still resembles that of a peasant. He has deep-set eyes, a large nose, a stubborn mouth with upper lip protruding, and a large fold of flesh on the cheek ending in the form of a double chin. The strands of hair are very lightly waved and held together by a broad diadem. This detail and the excellent technique are Hellenistic, but adapted to the Roman head.”³⁰² These observations will underpin my final interpretation of these Augustus/Numa *asses*.³⁰³

3.2.3 Augustus and Numa

Augustus made clear his desire to be a new Numa. The view of Numa as a priest king was extremely popular and was a role that Augustus wanted to emulate. It should be noted that Julius Caesar was keen to advertise his role as *Pontifex Maximus*, as exemplified on a coin of 46 BC bearing the reverse legend PONT MAX.³⁰⁴ Thus, because after Caesar’s death, M. Aemilius Lepidus had acquired the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, Augustus had to develop his priestly image in other ways.

³⁰⁰ Fig. 78

Becatti 1949.

³⁰¹ Vessberg 1941: 122.

³⁰² Bieber 1973: 877.

³⁰³ I do not include the coin type of C. Memmius dated to 56 BC because it is not clear whether the obverse depicts Romulus or Quirinus (Fig. 79 - *RRC* 427/2). It can be noted, however, that long hair and a long beard are again seen here in an archaizing style. For a recent discussion on this type, see DeRose Evans 1992: 103-108.

³⁰⁴ *RRC* 467.

There are various parallels between the lives of Numa and Augustus. Just as Numa was reluctant to rule and only came to power after an initial *recusatio imperii*, so, Octavian showed his reluctance to rule on many occasions as, for instance, when he refused the offer of the office of dictator.³⁰⁵ Both were said to have been “universally accepted” – compare Livy 1.18.5 which says that “they all without exception voted that the kingship should be handed over to Numa” with the phrase “by universal consent Augustus was in control of everything” in *Res Gestae* 34. In *Res Gestae* 13, Augustus boasts that he closed the temple of Janus Geminus three times. This was an unprecedented number; the last time these doors were closed was in 235 BC after the First Punic War. The first time the doors were closed during the age of Augustus was in 29 BC, following Octavian’s Actian victory. In the same year, Octavian performed the *augurium salutis*, a ritual that could only be performed during a time of peace.³⁰⁶ The doors were closed again in 25 BC, after the Cantabrian War, and then one more time in his reign.³⁰⁷ The revival of Roman religion became an integral part of the Augustan policy. Augustus became “the founder and restorer of all temples”.³⁰⁸ In *Res Gestae* 7, Augustus states that he was “the *pontifex maximus*, an *augur*, a *quindecimvir*, a *septemvir epulonum*, an *arval* brother, a *sodalis Titius*, and a *fetialis*”. Indeed, Augustus advertised and cared about his role as *Pontifex Maximus*. Although Augustus only acquired the position of *Pontifex Maximus* on 6th March 12 BC, he had prepared for his role as *Pontifex Maximus* long before 12 BC. For instance, he became a *pontifex* very early in his career. In 32 BC he revived the ancient *fetial* ceremony in the Campus Martius before the Battle of Actium. Since he himself was a *fetial* priest, it was most probably him who was the one to throw the spear over the *columna bellica*.³⁰⁹ In 29 BC, *ex Senatus consulto*, Octavian’s name was included among the gods invoked in the

³⁰⁵ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.60.1 and Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1.5.

³⁰⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.4.

³⁰⁷ Suetonius, *Augustus* 22 and Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.601-615.

³⁰⁸ Livy 4.20.7.

³⁰⁹ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 4.7.

Salian hymn.³¹⁰ The *Salii* became closely involved with the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum. Augustus revived the priesthood of the *Flamen Dialis* around 14 BC. In the same way that Numa created a *flamen Quirinalis* for the worship of the deified Romulus, Augustus created a *flamen* for the worship of Julius Caesar on his deification. In the same way that Numa founded the temple of Quirinus, Augustus rebuilt and dedicated this very temple. In the same way that Numa built an altar to Jupiter Elicius, Augustus built a temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline that was dedicated in 22 BC. Augustus vowed this temple on account of escaping lightning during the Cantabrian War in 26 BC. Coins minted in c. 19-16 BC at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia portray this temple with the cult statue of Jupiter Tonans leaning on a sceptre and holding a thunderbolt.³¹¹ Just as Numa was known as a civil lawgiver, so Augustus was also viewed as a civil lawgiver. Augustus' legislation on morals and marriage became a key part of his reign. For instance, in 18-17 BC he passed the majority of his many *leges Juliae*.³¹² In *Res Gestae* 8.5, Augustus claims to have revived old laws and instituted new ones.³¹³

3.2.4 The Secular Games of 23 BC and Book 6 of the *Aeneid*

The *Ludi Saeculares* were originally planned to take place in 23 BC. Domitian celebrated his *Ludi Saeculares* in AD 88, following this earlier proposed date for Augustus' *Ludi Saeculares*, and not the date 17 BC.³¹⁴ Book 6 of the *Aeneid* was in composition in 23 BC. It is known from Suetonius-Donatus, *Life of Virgil* 32, that Virgil recited Book 6 to Augustus and Octavia when her grief over the death of Marcellus was still recent. This implies that by 23 BC the creation of a Roman "hall of

³¹⁰ An allusion of this can be found in the Salian hymn sung in Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.293-303.

³¹¹ Fig. 125

*RIC I*² 27.

³¹² For further reference, see Galinsky 1981 and 1996: 128-138.

³¹³ See also *Res Gestae* 6.2.

³¹⁴ Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.

fame” was already a project under consideration. The final form of such a gallery of Roman heroes took shape in the Forum Augustum, dedicated in 2 BC with its semi-circular exedrae and colonnades exhibiting the kings of Rome, members of the Julian gens, and Rome’s *summi viri*.³¹⁵

The proem to Virgil’s *Georgics* 3 seems to foreshadow the plan of the Forum Augustum with its temple of Mars Ultor and two semi-circular exedrae.³¹⁶ Virgil writes that he will build a temple dedicated to Octavian. The temple complex will be decorated with statues of Octavian’s Trojan ancestors, and its temple doors will depict scenes from his triumphs. This temple and its portico-like complex are, of course, fictional. Nevertheless, Virgil employs this symbolic edifice to honour Octavian’s anticipated return from the East in 29 BC. The four books of the *Georgics* were most probably published in the first half of 29 BC. Virgil’s triumphal tone in *Georgics* 3 evokes Octavian’s post-Actian campaigns of 30-29 BC, but still anticipates his triple triumph of August 29 BC.³¹⁷ A heroic parade appears in Horace’s *Ode* 1.12; not surprisingly Numa appears in this parade, and his peaceful reign is emphasized.³¹⁸ Marcellus was still alive when this *Ode* was written. His marriage to Augustus’ daughter Julia is celebrated in lines 45-48. This marriage took place in 25 BC, and so this *Ode* was most probably composed in this same year. Nisbet and Hubbard suggest that Virgil’s heroic parade in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* was influenced by *Ode* 1.12. Both parades begin with lists of the Roman kings, including Romulus, Numa, and Tarquinius Superbus, mention both distant and more recent heroes of the Republic, including Camillus, Regulus, and Cato the Younger, and emphasize the importance of

³¹⁵ Fig. 80

For a recent discussion of the early planning of the Forum Augustum (with the notion that the concept of a Gallery of Heroes was already in an embryonic state by the late twenties BC), see Geiger 2008: 25-111.

³¹⁶ Virgil, *Georgics* 3.11-39.

³¹⁷ Harrison 2007: 136 and 149-156.

³¹⁸ *quietum/Pompili regnum*
Horace, *Ode* 1.12.33-34.

Marcellus and Augustus.³¹⁹ Book 6 of the *Aeneid* offers a type of Roman history lesson: historical exempla are shown and described to Aeneas as if he were looking at the *imagines maiorum* of a funeral procession. The list in Book 6.756-846 includes legendary kings – the Alban kings and kings of Rome – as well as members of famous Republican *gentes*. 6.851-853 provide what Galinsky calls “the famous definition of the Roman national character.”³²⁰ Virgil then laments the death of Marcellus in 6.860-886. Here, in this Roman pageant, Numa is represented as an exemplum of how to “mark peace with civilized custom.” In lines 808-12 he is portrayed wearing olive sprays as a symbol of peace, and carrying *sacra*.³²¹ He is said to have built the city of Rome on laws. In this line-up, Augustus stands in between Romulus and Numa, and so he appears himself as one of the *reges*, that is one of the kings of Rome.³²² Thus, I suggest that these Augustus/Numa *asses* are the contemporary numismatic parallel to Virgil’s heroic parade.

The Augustus/Numa *asses*, then, were most probably minted in 23 BC and were issued by the *collegium* of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus, the first college of moneyers to produce coins at Rome since the closure of the Roman mint in 40 BC. They are highly unusual in that these are the only coins in the

³¹⁹ Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 145. See also West 1995: 53-61.

³²⁰ Galinsky 1996: 211.

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
hae tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

[Remember, Roman, to rule the earth’s people with your *imperium*.

Your arts are to be these: to mark peace with civilized custom, spare the conquered, and war down the proud.]

³²¹ Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae

sacra ferens? Nosco crinis incanaeque menta
regis Romani, primus qui legibus urbem
fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum.

[But who is he, standing apart, crowned with olive-leaves and bearing sacrifice? I recognize the long locks and gray chin of that Roman king who built our city on laws, when he was sent from the poor land of lowly Cures to take control of a great power.]

³²² The section devoted to Romulus appears in lines 777-790 while the section on Augustus appears in lines 791-807.

For further reference on Virgil’s heroic parade, see, for instance, Horsfall 1982, Feeney 1986, and West 1993.

Octavianic/Augustan age to portray a legendary king of Rome. Although Numa exhibits some archaizing Italic features on these coins, I do not think the so-called “Hellenistic monarchic” style in which the legendary kings of Rome were portrayed would have gone unnoticed. It was only back in 27 BC that Octavian had toyed with the name Romulus, and, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Octavianic CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series of c. 32-27 BC were styled in a “Hellenistic monarchic” tradition. However, Augustus was no longer styling himself as Romulus. Although it is true that many religious reforms have been taking place since 36 BC, Augustus was still seeking to legitimize and add prestige to his actions.³²³ The election of Augustus as *Pontifex Maximus* in 12 BC was of “central importance in the restructuring of Roman religion.”³²⁴ Augustus places great emphasis on the fact that the whole of Italy assembled for his election in *Res Gestae* 10.2.³²⁵ As he was not yet *Pontifex Maximus* in 23 BC, he could justify his interest in and actions taken concerning religious and moral reforms at this time, such as the proposed Secular Games of 23 BC, by claiming descent from and styling himself as Numa. As they were both civil and religious rulers of Rome they represented Rome’s continuity of past and present.

3.3 THE AUREI AND DENarii OF 19 BC

The college of P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Aquillius Florus, and M. Durmius minted *aurei* and *denarii* in 19 BC.³²⁶ The types issued in this group of coinage are generally referred to as “Republican.” In *BMCRE I*, Mattingly says these moneyers employ “Republican” obverses and reverses.³²⁷ In *RIC I*², Sutherland refers to the

³²³ For recent discussions on the religious policy from 36 to 23 BC, see Millar 2000, Scheid 2005, and Ridley 2005.

³²⁴ *CAH X*² 1996: 825.

³²⁵ For a concise summary of scholarly views on the importance of the office of *Pontifex Maximus* to Augustus, see Ridley 2005: 284-292.

³²⁶ Some scholars like Mattingly *BMCRE I*: p.2-12 and Cardone 2008 date this *collegium* to 18 BC. However, given the theme of Augustus’ Parthian success of 20 BC on these coin types, 19 BC is the preferred date. See also my discussion on the start date for the Mars Ultor coins in Chapter 4.2.

³²⁷ *BMCRE I*: ci-cii.

“familial” types of this college.³²⁸ In *BMCRR* 2, Grueber attributes this typology to the moneyers’ geographical origins; that is, to Campania.³²⁹ In 1993 Desnier suggested that the use of these Campanian types referred to the Italic-Roman reconciliation following the end of the civil wars with the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. Other recent works on this *collegium* include the works of Damsky and Cardone. Damsky attempts to show that all these “Republican” types of the moneyers are related to the death of Virgil. However, in my opinion, it seems unlikely that a whole series of so many various types would exclusively commemorate his death. Cardone also employs “familial” connections of the moneyers to explain these types.³³⁰ These views are all rather tenuous. For one, the Battle of Actium was not a fight between Italians and Romans. Secondly, although numismatists such as Grueber like to match these Augustan types to coins dated even as early as the fifth century BC, it is unlikely that there was a so-called modern day coin cabinet where the moneyers could find such coins. In fact, in his review of Zehnacker’s *Moneta*, Crawford criticizes Zehnacker’s theory that there was a record of all the issued Roman coin types in the archives of the mint at Rome.³³¹

Roman battle standards lost to Parthia were returned in 20 BC. Revenge on Parthia was highly anticipated since the Roman losses of 53 BC, 40 BC, and 36 BC. In the writings of Horace and Virgil, Parthia is considered to be a threatening foe and a Parthian military victory would be most celebrated.³³² However, the standards were returned by diplomatic negotiations. Many of the coin types of the moneyers of 19 BC predominantly feature figures from Greek “heroic” myth. I would thus suggest that

³²⁸ *RIC I*²: 34.

³²⁹ *BMCRR* 2: p.60ff.

³³⁰ Desnier 1993, Damsky 1997, and Cardone 2008.

³³¹ For example, numismatists match up two of M. Durmius’ reverses (*RIC I*² 318-319) to 3rd century BC coin types from Velia and Neapolis, respectively (*HN Italy*: 1318 and 586). Crawford 1975: 177.

Suetonius does mention that Augustus gave out gifts including coins of different types, including *veteres regios ac peregrines* (*Augustus*, 75). This suggests that Augustus may have collected coins, but given his adoption of Hellenistic motifs *regios ac peregrines* refers to more recent coins, i.e. Hellenistic monarchic coins. Pollini 1990: 347 suggests that one of these Hellenistic coins was Demetrius Poliorcetes’ Poseidon coin type (Fig.35a).

³³² E.g. Horace: *Odes* 1.2.21-24, 1.12.31-24, 3.2.1-4, and 3.5.2-4; Virgil: *Georgics* 3.30-33.

they were meant to add prestige to what was deemed a bloodless triumph. Such motifs were also employed in Hellenistic visual media. They can all be found on Hellenistic coinage, sculpture, or reliefs. Some of these figures can even be found together on the same work of art. Thus, these coins can also be seen in a “Hellenistic monarchic” tradition.³³³

To begin with, some comments on the formulaic nature of this group’s typology must be made. First, there is the obverse-reverse dichotomy. All three moneyers issue obverses portraying deities or obverses portraying the head of Augustus. When the obverse depicts a deity, the reverse refers to events in Augustus’ life and when the obverse depicts the head of Augustus, the reverse illustrates something other than events of Augustus’ life. For instance, Feronia is on the obverse while an Armenian captive is on the reverse on one coin and on another Augustus is on the obverse while a warrior raising up a female figure (Sicilia) is on the reverse.³³⁴ This is one of the main reasons that this group is generally referred to as “Republican” – that is, that deities still occupy some obverses and that iconography not immediately related to Augustus’ life occupies some reverses. When one of the honours awarded to Augustus in 27 BC is portrayed – that is, laurel branches or an oak wreath – the coin is minted in gold. When the head of Augustus is seen wearing an oak wreath, the coin is also minted in gold.³³⁵ Second, it should be noted that the formulaic nature of all the moneyers depicting repetitive types – that is, a Parthian captive, Armenian captive, and Augustus in an elephant biga holding a laurel branch is not new. All the moneyers minting in Rome for Julius Caesar in 44 BC portrayed the bust of Caesar on the obverse and Venus holding a spear and Victory. Each of the four moneyers of 42 BC issue repetitive types appropriate for

³³³ Augustus’ vow to build a temple of Mars Ultor, the most significant advertisement of his Parthian success of 20 BC, is the subject of Chapter 4.

³³⁴ *RIC I*² 291 and 310.

The CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series of c. 32-27 BC of course also alternate between obverse deity/Octavian reverse and Octavian obverse/reverse deity.

³³⁵ E.g. *RIC I*² 285 and 308.

each of the three triumvirs – for instance, L. Mussidius Longus issued a reverse type depicting Mars standing on a shield for Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, respectively.³³⁶ Third of all, the employment of images of captives is not new to Roman numismatic typology. Gallic captives were seen in the time of Marius and Caesar and another Gallic captive can even be seen on a coin minted in 12 BC by L. Caninius Gallus.³³⁷

Turpilianus, Florus, and Durmius all minted a reverse type that depicts Augustus standing in an elephant biga holding a laurel branch and a sceptre. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Fig. 51), Ptolemy I minted coins portraying Alexander the Great riding in an elephant quadriga holding a thunderbolt.³³⁸ The employment of an elephant quadriga connected Alexander to Dionysus and to his exploits in India. It is said that he returned from India in an elephant chariot. In the same way, then, Augustus is portrayed returning to Rome from the East in an elephant biga. Florus also minted a coin type with a head of Sol on the obverse and a quadriga with a modius-shaped car within which may be an *aquila* with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS S C on the reverse. This refers to the chariot that was awarded to Augustus upon his return to Rome from the East in the autumn of 19 BC. His ancestor, Mn. Aquillius, issued a coin type in 109 BC also with the head of Sol on the obverse and Luna in a biga on the reverse. These images refer to the triumph of the moneyer's ancestor, Manius Aquillius, 129 BC, for his victory over Aristonicus, son of Eumenes, the king of Pergamum.³³⁹ Thus, the theme of these moneyers' coins is related to Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC. Although a diplomatic settlement, as depicted by the kneeling Parthian captive,

³³⁶ E.g. Parthian captive: *RIC I*² 287, 304, and 314.

Caesar's Venus type of 44 BC: *RRC* 480.

Coin types for Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus issued by the moneyers of 42 BC: *RRC* 494.

³³⁷ E.g. *RRC* 326/2, 448/2a-b, and 452/4; *RIC I*² 416.

The types depicting Augustus' honours of 27 BC will be discussed in Section 3.5.

³³⁸ Fig. 81

*RIC I*² 280, 301, and 311.

³³⁹ Fig. 82 (*RIC I*² 303).

Cassiodorus, *Chronica: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum* 1894: 135.

See *RRC* 303 for Mn. Aquillius' coin.

For more discussion on the chariot, see Chapter 4.

Augustus is represented as Alexander and many of reverse types recall Hellenistic imagery to boost his achievement in winning back the lost standards.

P. Petronius Turpilianus issued several reverse types with Hellenizing motifs. One reverse type depicts a lyre with the body of a tortoise shell. The Greek origin of the lyre is self-explanatory. In particular, this is the lyre of Hermes, as opposed to the cithara of Apollo, and so, may also recall the earlier CAESAR DIVI F reverse portraying Mercury holding a tortoiseshell lyre.³⁴⁰ The Pan type shows the deity with his most common attributes, the pedom and syrinx. Pliny records a painting made by Protogenes that depicts Alexander with Pan. Pollitt suggests that both Pan and Alexander could throw their enemies into a panic and that as Pan signifies “all” so Alexander was the “master of all”. A statue from Pella depicts Alexander as Pan and later Antigonus Gonatus also portrayed Pan, his patron deity, on his coin types.³⁴¹ Turpilianus also issued a reverse type with a winged Siren holding a flute in each hand. Sirens were known as creatures of destruction, and heroic epic often portrayed them as forces to be overcome. Odysseus’ defeat of the Sirens in Book 12 of the *Odyssey* is probably the most famous heroic encounter with these creatures.³⁴²

Another type portrays a satyr seated with two flutes between his legs.³⁴³ Hellenistic monarchs were inspired by the well-known myth of Midas’ capture of a satyr. It is said that Alexander the Great dreamt of chasing a satyr during his siege of Tyre in 332 BC. During Ptolemy II Philadelphus’s procession of 275 BC, satyrs were dressed as captives from distant lands. Alexander’s dream was meant to imply that he would be victorious at Tyre and the Ptolemy’s procession represents his vast military exploits. Plutarch, *Sulla* 27.2, reports that a satyr was brought to Sulla as a good omen

³⁴⁰ Fig. 83 (*RIC I*² 293) and see Fig. 26.

³⁴¹ *RIC I*² 294.

Pliny, *NH* 35.106.

Pollitt 1986: 305n.23. See also Stewart 1993: Fig. 99 and Mørkholm 1991: no.430.

³⁴² *RIC I*² 296.

³⁴³ Fig. 84

*RIC I*² 295.

before he marched into Italy in 83 BC. Sorabella even suggests that the famous Barberini Faun was commissioned by Antiochus IV.³⁴⁴

Turpilianus also minted a reverse depicting Pegasus with a raised foreleg and another one with a six-rayed star above a crescent.³⁴⁵ A coin type of Mithridates VI Eupator depicts Pegasus drinking with a raised foreleg and a star above a crescent.³⁴⁶ As will be discussed in Section 3.4, Chinese sources record the occurrence of a comet in 135 BC, the year of Mithridates Eupator's birth. This comet appeared in the constellation of Pegasus. Thus, not only did Pegasus refer to Bellephron or to the hero Perseus, Mithridates' ancestor, but also became Mithridates' natal emblem. The positioning of a star above a crescent on Turpilianus' coin corresponds to Mithridates' coin. It should be noted that this star above a crescent type is also seen on a coin of Pharnaces I, Fig. 38b and above the head of a bust of Alexander the Great, Fig. 92.

L. Aquillius Florus' types are generally thought to be punning and "ancestral". The open petalled flower type can be a pun for his name, but a flower coin type is quite common on Greek coinage – for instance, on the rose bud reverse type from Rhodes of the 4th century BC.³⁴⁷ The type depicting a warrior raising up Sicilia is also found on one of his ancestor's types minted in 71 BC.³⁴⁸ However, while the Gorgon and triskeles type can be found on Sicilian coins, any appearance of a Gorgon recalls its Greek origin and the hero Perseus.

M. Durmius issued a reverse type depicting a crab and a butterfly. The crab appears in the myth of Hercules' struggle with the Hydra. While struggling with the Hydra, the crab bit Hercules, but was then crushed by him. Coins from Kos minted in the third century BC portray Hercules on the obverse and a crab on the reverse.

³⁴⁴ Sorabella 2007: 239-244.

³⁴⁵ Figs. 85a and b.

*RIC I*² 297 and 300.

³⁴⁶ Fig. 86

Mørkholm 1991: no.625.

Ramsey 1999.

³⁴⁷ *RIC I*² 308 and Mørkholm 1991: no.236.

³⁴⁸ *RRC* 401.

Durmius also minted an obverse type with the bust of Hercules, diademed with lion's skin and a club over his shoulder.³⁴⁹

Durmius issued another reverse type portraying the Calydonian boar pierced by a spear. This heroic hunt motif was indeed popular in the Hellenistic period, as can be seen on a fresco, for instance, from Tomb II (of Philip II) at Vergina.³⁵⁰ Durmius' lion attacking a stag reverse is a stock type that derives from the Near East and is representative of a heroic struggle. This type is certainly abundant on Hellenistic coinage as on a coin from the fourth century BC minted in Tarsus.³⁵¹ Durmius also minted a coin portraying a man-headed bull crowned by Victory. This is a representation of Acheloos, the Greek river god. As will also be discussed in Section 3.4 with regard to Augustus' Lugdunese bull type, the bull is a dominant Seleucid symbol. Seleucus I Nicator also issued coins portraying Acheloos.³⁵² To summarize, then, the *collegium* of Turpilianus, Florus, and Durmius employ Hellenistic motifs related to Greek heroic myth to advertise Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC.

3.4 THE *LUDI SAECULARES* AND THE GOLDEN AGE

Augustan coins connected with the *Ludi Saeculares* introduce and incorporate symbols of Hellenistic divine monarchy into Roman coinage. M. Sanquinius issued *aurei* and *denarii* at the mint of Rome in 17 BC that were devoted to the *Ludi Saeculares*. From c. 19 BC to 10 BC numerous coins minted at Rome, Lugdunum, and in Spain and the East depict types, such as the *sidus Iulium*, cornucopia, Capricorn, and

³⁴⁹ Figs. 87a-c

*RIC I*² 316 and 314; Mørkholm 1991: no.557.

For a survey of Greco-Roman crab iconography, see Deonna 1954.

³⁵⁰ Fig. 88

*RIC I*² 317.

On the Calydonian boar hunt, see Barringer 2002: 148ff.

³⁵¹ Fig. 89a and b.

*RIC I*² 318 and *SNG France* 332.

On the lion hunt, see Maroke 1989.

³⁵² Fig. 90

*RIC I*² 319 and Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.283A.

Apollo, that represent the concept of an *aurea aetas*. A survey of these types shows that this iconography was greatly influenced by Hellenistic artistic media. Many of these Hellenistic images also advertised the advent of a new age.

Sanquinius minted an obverse type on *aurei* and *denarii* showing a herald, wearing a helmet with double feathers, holding a winged caduceus in one hand and a round shield with the a six-pointed star, the *sidus Iulium*, on it in the other with the legend AVGVST DIVI F LVDOS SAEC. The reverse type of these coins portrays the laureate head of Julius Caesar with a comet of four rays and a tail above. This head of Caesar with a comet is also depicted on reverses of other *aurei* and *denarii* of Sanquinius with an obverse showing a head of Augustus.³⁵³ Mattingly suggests that the head of Caesar is rather a head of Iulus while Boyce suggests the head of the Genius of the *Ludi Saeculares* or of the New Age.³⁵⁴ However, the comet also appears on reverses of coins issued from Colonia Caesaraugusta in c. 19 BC with the legend DIVVS IVLIVS.³⁵⁵ This head is thus rather a rejuvenated portrait of Julius Caesar. Augustus is shown placing a star on a half-clad figure of Julius Caesar holding a Victoriola and a spear on a *denarius* minted by L. Lentulus at Rome in 12 BC.³⁵⁶ As briefly discussed in Chapter 2, the comet that appeared during the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of 44 BC was taken to represent the apotheosis of Julius Caesar. Augustus subsequently added a star to all statues he erected of Julius Caesar, and the *sidus Iulium* entered Roman numismatic typology in 38 BC. Many texts also took the appearance of this comet to simultaneously signify the advent of a Golden Age as well as that of Augustus' reign.³⁵⁷

The birth, accession to the throne, and deification of Hellenistic and Near Eastern monarchs were represented by stars and comets. A portrait head of Alexander

³⁵³ Figs. 60-61

*RIC I*² 337-340.

³⁵⁴ Mattingly 1934: 164 and Boyce 1965: 1-3 and 6-7.

³⁵⁵ Fig. 91

*RIC I*² 37a-38b.

³⁵⁶ Fig. 112c

*RIC I*² 415.

³⁵⁷ E.g. Pliny *NH* 2.93, Servius Dan. *ad Aeneid* 10.272.

the Great from Amisus in Pontus is surmounted by a crescent and a star of the sun above it and another star on either side of it.³⁵⁸ Obverse portraits of Antiochus IV Epiphanes minted in Syria in c. 175-164 BC display a star over his head.³⁵⁹ Star and comet imagery also appear on Ptolemy V Epiphanes' coin types. Three coin types of Ptolemy V show stars.³⁶⁰ The first coin type shows a star on either side of a cornucopia. The second shows a star or comet on either side of a winged thunderbolt. The third depicts a star next to the obverse portrait of Ptolemy V and a star next to the eagle on the reverse. Hazzard suggests that the stars on Ptolemy's coins refer to the comets that appeared in 210 BC before the birth of Ptolemy V and in 204 BC when he ascended the throne and thus proclaim the beginning of a golden age.³⁶¹

A comet is portrayed on some bronze coins of Mithridates VI Eupator as well as on tetradrachms of Tigranes II. According to Justin, "heavenly signs foretold the future greatness of [Mithridates VI]. For, in the year in which he was born and the year in which he was enthroned, a comet shone with such splendour through both periods for seventy days that the whole sky seemed ablaze."³⁶² As mentioned in Section 3.3, Chinese sources also recorded the appearance of a comet in 135 BC, the year of his birth, and in 119 BC, the year he ascended the throne.³⁶³ Some small bronze Pontic coins minted early in Mithridates' reign depict the bust of a horse with a large flower-like star of eight rays on its neck on the obverse and on the reverse a slightly larger star with the same number of rays, one of which flares out into a comet's tail.³⁶⁴ Some tetradrachms and bronze coins of Tigranes II minted in Armenia depict Tigranes

³⁵⁸ Fig. 92

Weinstock 1971: pl.27.1.

³⁵⁹ Fig. 93

Weinstock 1971: pl.28.1.

Weinstock 1971: 375.

³⁶⁰ Figs. 94a and b, and Hazzard 1995: 432n.14.

Hazzard 1995: pl.2.nos.15-16.

³⁶¹ Hazzard 1995: 422 and 426-7; Williams 2003: 23-24.

³⁶² Justin, 37.2.1.

³⁶³ Ramsey 1999: 205-213.

³⁶⁴ Fig. 95

Ramsey 1999: Fig. 1.

wearing the traditional Armenian tiara decorated with a star between two eagles. On a rare series of tetradrachms, drachms, and bronze coins, the tiara worn by Tigranes depicts a single star with an elongated, curved tail.³⁶⁵ Halley's Comet appeared in 87 BC during Tigranes' reign. There is a discrepancy, however as to whether the comet displayed on these coins shows Halley's Comet or the comets of 135 and 119 BC. Halley's Comet always has a straight tail while the comets of 135 and 119 BC had curved tails. Tigranes II was a close ally of Mithridates, and so it could be possible that his coin types promote Mithridates' cause.³⁶⁶ Nevertheless, what is important here is that comet iconography was interpreted as a favourable omen among Hellenistic and Near Eastern monarchs.

The image of a cornucopia is also of great importance. This is a cornucopia decorated with the loose ends of a royal diadem as seen on Fig. 94a. More often than not a double cornucopia is depicted, such as on the coins struck under Ptolemy II portraying obverses of Arsinoe II in 253-252 BC.³⁶⁷ Augustan coins showing a cornucopia also depict loose ends of a royal diadem as on coins minted in Spain at Colonia Patricia in c.19-16 BC. These coins show a Capricorn holding a globe attached to a rudder with a cornucopia, decorated with these loose ends, above its back.³⁶⁸ The cornucopia shown on the reverses of some *cistophori* from Ephesus and Pergamum issued in c. 27-25 BC also depicts fruits at the top of its horn and ends in a goat's head in the same manner as on its Ptolemaic precedents.³⁶⁹ It should be noted that earlier representations of this type of cornucopia appear on Late Republican coins. In 81 BC *denarii* were minted for Sulla that depicted a reverse type showing a double cornucopia

³⁶⁵ Figs.96a and b.

Weinstock 1971: pl.25.21 and Mayor 2009: Fig. 2.2.

³⁶⁶ Mayor 2009: 30-33.

³⁶⁷ Fig. 97

SNG Copenhagen 134.

³⁶⁸ Fig. 98

*RIC I*² 126.

³⁶⁹ Fig. 99

*RIC I*² 488. See also *RIC I*² 477.

bound with the loose ends of a diadem. In 40 BC *denarii* for Antony were issued that depict a caduceus between two cornucopiae on a globe. These cornucopiae are decorated with the loose ends of a diadem.³⁷⁰

As just seen above, the Capricorn, Augustus' natal sign, was a popular Augustan coin type. Suetonius writes that "Augustus made his horoscope public and issued a silver coin stamped with the sign of the constellation Capricorn, under which he been born."³⁷¹ Four other Capricorn types were issued. There was an inexplicable link between the Capricorn and the idea of the coming of a world ruler.³⁷² The first appearance of the Capricorn on Octavianic/Augustan coinage occurred on obverses of the AEGVPTO CATA coins of 28-27 BC.³⁷³ A Capricorn already appeared on the obverse of a coin of Q. Oppius from c. 88 BC at Laodiceia.³⁷⁴ The Capricorn then appears below a hovering, radiate Sol as a reverse type on *denarii* from Colonia Patricia c. 19-16 BC and on *aurei* from Pergamum minted in 19-18 BC as well as on a *denarius* from Lugdunum issued in 12 BC.³⁷⁵ As discussed above, Hellenistic monarchs also employed natal signs as personal emblems. Mithradates VI Eupator minted coins depicting a Pegasus, Fig. 86. Pegasus indicated the constellation in which the comet of 135 BC was observed. The sphinx, another Augustan personal emblem, also appears on Augustan coins.³⁷⁶ The sphinx is depicted on *cistophori* and *aurei* issued in 27-26 BC and 19-18 BC, respectively at Pergamum.³⁷⁷ An earlier Republican type of 46 BC

³⁷⁰ Sulla: *RRC* 375/2.

Antony: Fig. 100 (*RRC* 520)

For further reference on the Hellenistic precedents for the cornucopia on these Republican and Augustan coins, see Alföldi 1997: 3 and 33ff.

³⁷¹ Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.12.

³⁷² Barton 1995.

³⁷³ *RIC I*² 544-545.

³⁷⁴ *RRC* 550/2d.

³⁷⁵ Fig. 101

*RIC I*² 124 and see also 521-522 and 124.

Some scholars identify the figure hovering above Capricorn as Aurora or Zephyr (e.g. Sutherland *RIC I*² 124). However, the solar crown makes an identification with Sol the better choice. See Pollini 1992: 285n.15.

³⁷⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus* 50.

³⁷⁷ Fig. 102.

*RIC I*² 487 and 511-513.

minted at Rome by T. Carisius depicts a Sibyl on the obverse and a sphinx, the Sibyl's heraldic animal, on the reverse.³⁷⁸ The sphinx is also obviously a prominent Hellenistic image. Octavianic iconography already portrayed the sphinx as can be seen on a cameo of 30-28 BC that shows Octavian seated on a throne decorated with a sphinx and holding a double cornucopia.³⁷⁹ Another personal badge used by Hellenistic monarchs, of course, was the anchor employed by the Seleucids. It is said that Seleucus I's mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she would find she would give to him to carry, and that wherever he would lose that ring would be the land he would rule over. The ring she found had an anchor on it, and Seleucus lost the ring near the Euphrates.³⁸⁰ The anchor thus became a personal emblem of Seleucus I and all subsequent Seleucids, as displayed on coinage.³⁸¹

It is also possible to suggest that the Apollo type of C. Antistius Vetus minted at Rome in 16 BC and those minted at Lugdunum in 15-13 BC and 11-10 BC may have been influenced by Apollo types found on Seleucid coinage. Apollo was considered to be the divine ancestor and patron of the Seleucids. Justin writes that Apollo was the father of Seleucus I Nicator.³⁸² This story is an imitation of the story of Alexander the Great, who was said to have been the son of Zeus.³⁸³ Although it is not clear whether the story of his birth began to be advertised by Seleucus I himself or by his son, Antiochus I, after 281 BC Apollo began to be advertised as the dynastic god of the Seleucids. Apollo prominently appears on Seleucid coinage, most notably seated on an omphalos. A tale also circulated that Apollo was the father of Augustus.³⁸⁴ Indeed, Apollo became Augustus' divine patron from the onset as he recognized Apollo as his

³⁷⁸ *RRC* 464/1.

³⁷⁹ Galinsky 1996: 114-115.fig.51.

³⁸⁰ Appian, *Syr.* 284-5.

³⁸¹ E.g. Seleucus I Nicator - Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.359.

³⁸² Justin 15.4.3.

³⁸³ E.g. Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.6.

³⁸⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.4 and Cassius Dio 45.1.2.

For further reference on the similarities between the stories of Seleucus I's and Augustus' births, see Engels 2010.

protector at Actium. By 40 BC Octavian already dressed up as Apollo at a banquet of Gods.³⁸⁵

Scholars and numismatists have attempted to match the Augustan coin types depicting statues of Apollo to existing statues.³⁸⁶ However, it is more likely that they are symbolic representations of Apollo based loosely on Seleucid Apollonian iconography. For instance, the Augustan Apollo type of Vetus that shows Apollo standing in a long robe on a platform decorated with three *foruli* and two anchors, holding a lyre in one hand and a patera in the other, is very similar to the Apollo type of Antiochus IV Epiphanes that also shows Apollo standing, holding a cithara and a patera. This figure of Apollo was based on a statue of Bryaxis made for the temple of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch.³⁸⁷ The Apollo types issued at Lugdunum which show Apollo standing in a long robe and holding a lyre in one hand and a plectrum in the other also resembles Seleucid types depicting Apollo wearing a long robe and holding a cithra and a patera, such as on a coin of Seleucus III.³⁸⁸ It should also be noted that the butting bull that appears on *aurei* and *denarii* from Lugdunum in the same series as these Apollo types has either been compared to the bull types from Thurium or suggested to symbolize Philippi, as the bull was the sacrificial animal to Mars.³⁸⁹ Another explanation may be the Seleucid types that also show a butting bull, representing Seleucus I's prowess when he suppressed a bull that broke free during a sacrifice to Alexander. This butting bull subsequently became a common Seleucid coin type.³⁹⁰

Thus, the Augustan coin types that are related to the so-called *aurea aetas* have many Hellenistic precedents. They are not necessarily innovative, but follow the

³⁸⁵ Suetonius, Augustus 29.3

³⁸⁶ For a recent summary, see Lange 2009: 177-181.

³⁸⁷ Figs. 103a and b

*RIC I*² 365 and Mørkholm 1991: no.653.

³⁸⁸ Figs. 104a and b.

E.g. *RIC I*² 171a and Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.940.

³⁸⁹ E.g. Kraft 1969: 229-235.

³⁹⁰ Appian, *Syrian Wars* 57.

Figs. 105a and b

*RIC I*² 166 and Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.151.

seemingly already established Augustan trend to introduce and incorporate Hellenistic motifs into the typological inventory of Roman coinage. The concept of a Golden Age clearly had roots in Hellenistic monarchy, and these coins reflect these origins.

3.5 THE INCREASE OF LEGENDS AND “HONORIFIC” TYPES (19-16 BC)

The coins minted at Rome, in Spain, and Pergamum from 19 BC to 16 BC present some new developments in the inventory of Roman coin legends and types. In this period, the concept of specificity is introduced as noted by Sutherland.³⁹¹ Although topicality was already seen on coins from Sulla onwards there is a rapid increase in the employment of legends at this time, and coins begin to show a direct correspondence between types and legends.³⁹² There is also an increase in the transposition of representations of various honours onto coins, that is, honours voted for or requests granted to Augustus by the Senate and the people. Senatorial honorific decrees are now seen in bulk on coinage through both images and texts.

The majority of all these coin types record Senatorial honorific decrees through images and texts. Brunt, Wallace-Hadrill, and Rowe all make the case that these types of decrees were scarce in the Republic.³⁹³ However, from Sulla onwards, although numerous honorific decrees were regularly proposed, what these decrees awarded was very sparsely depicted on Roman coins.³⁹⁴ For instance, Julius Caesar was voted the title PARENS PATRIAE in 45 BC, but this title was not seen on his coins until after his death.³⁹⁵ For 44 BC, it was voted that public vows were to be made annually for Caesar's welfare. However, there is no record of the vows that took place on January 1st of that year on coins.³⁹⁶

³⁹¹ Sutherland 1959: 48-51 and 1976b: 96-101.

³⁹² Sulla onwards: as mentioned already, see, for instance, Brutus' EID MAR reverse type of 42 BC (*RRC* 508/3).

³⁹³ Brunt 1984, Wallace-Hadrill 1990, and Rowe 2002: 41-2.

³⁹⁴ One example is the Sullan reverse type depicting his equestrian statue discussed in Chapter 2.3.2.

³⁹⁵ Dio 44.4.4 and *RRC* 480/19 and 20 issued in April-May 44 BC.

³⁹⁶ Dio 44.6.1.

On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 2, already in 28 BC, some Octavianic coin types derive from Senatorial decrees such as the Octavianic equestrian statue types. As has been suggested by Rich and Williams, the IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX *cistophori* and the LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT *aureus* may also derive from Senatorial decrees. The title seen on these *cistophori* was most likely given to Augustus by the Senate through a decree that was prompted by Augustus' restoration of statutes and laws to the Roman people in 28 BC. The *aureus* may also refer to this honorific decree, and they even suggest that the figure of Octavian on this *aureus* relates to a statue for whose erection the decree proposed.³⁹⁷ Augustus' honours of 27 BC were also immediately advertised on coins, such as can be seen on Fig. 106 and by the use of the legend AVGVSTVS on coins minted in the Ephesus and Pergamum in c. 27-25 BC.³⁹⁸

Topicality was already seen on coins from Sulla onwards. In both of his discussions on topicality, Sutherland mentions P. Hypsaeus' reverse type of 60 BC bearing the legend C YPSAEUS COS PRIV(ernum) CEPIT and C. Memmius' reverse type of 56 BC that bears the legend MEMMIVS AED(ilis) CEREALIA PREIMVS FECIT as examples of the developed stage that correspondence between words and images on coins had reached.³⁹⁹ However, specifically between 60 BC and 19 BC, legends other than those mentioned above are sparse.⁴⁰⁰ To summarize what was already mentioned in Chapter 2, before 19 BC legends were primarily limited to ROMA, S C, EX S C, names and offices of the *tresviri monetales* and other moneyers, and to the titles of leading Republican figures (e.g. Julius Caesar and Octavian). It is

³⁹⁷ Rich and Williams 1999.

³⁹⁸ *RIC I*²: 80-82.

³⁹⁹ Sutherland 1959: 49 and 1976b: 99n.15.

⁴⁰⁰ E.g. PROVOCO (*RRC* 301), PVTEAL SCRIBON (*RRC* 416), ERVC (*RRC* 424), AQVAMARC (*RRC* 425), VIL PVB (*RRC* 429), EID MAR (*RRC* 508), POPVL ISSV (*RRC* 518), DIVOS IVLIVS (*RRC* 534, 535, and 540 (DIVO IVL)), ARMENIA DEVICTA (*RRC* 543), IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX/PAX (*RIC I*² 476), LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT (British Museum accession no. CM 1995, 4-1.1), and CAESAR COS VII CIVIBVS SERVATEIS (*RIC I*² 277), AEGVPTO CAPTA (*RIC I*² 275 and 544-546), ASIA RECAPTA (*RIC I*² 276), OB CIVIS SERVATOS (*RIC I*² 549), and IOV OLVM (*RIC I*² 472).

true that the names of virtues personified as deities are explicitly written on Republican coins, but the names of deities and their epithets are few and far between.⁴⁰¹

It is true that there was an increase in the number of coin types related to one particular event during the Augustan age. Eleven types were issued between Pergamum, Spain, and Rome on account of Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC.⁴⁰² What is more, one of the most significant features of the coinage minted between 19 BC and 16 BC is the relationship between types and legends. It is in this period that the majority of coin types minted at Rome, Spain, and Pergamum show a direct relationship between types and legends. The *corona civica* and the *clipeus virtutis*, two of the honours granted to Augustus in 27 BC, are invariably accompanied by identifying legends. At Rome, the *corona civica* is seen with the legend OB C S (or O C S) and at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia it is seen with OB CIVIS SERVATOS (for having saved the lives of citizens).⁴⁰³ It should be noted that this also occurred on the first *aureus* to be minted portraying Augustus' honours of 27 BC. The oak wreath appears on the reverse held up by an eagle alongside two laurel branches. The reverse legend reads AVGVSTVS S C, but the obverse legend reads CAESAR COS VII CIVIBVS SERVATEIS.⁴⁰⁴ At Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia, the *clipeus virtutis* is seen inscribed with CL V on the shield itself.⁴⁰⁵

Some of the types related to Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC that were mentioned above are all accompanied by legends explicitly referring to this event. The coins depicting a temple of Mars Ultor that were minted in Pergamum, Colonia

⁴⁰¹ Personifications: e.g. PIETAS (*RRC* 308 and 450), SALVS (*RRC* 337), PAX (*RIC I*² 476) VIRTVS (*RRC* 401).

Deities: e.g. HERCVLES MVSARVM (*RRC* 410), DEI PENATES (*RRC* 455), IOVIS AXVR (*RRC* 449), NEPTVNI (*RRC* 483 and 519), VESTA (*RRC* 428), and QVIRINVS (*RRC* 268 and 427).

⁴⁰² 1. Mars Ultor temple (Pergamum and Spain), 2. figure of Mars Ultor (Spain), 3. Parthian arch (Pergamum, Spain, and Rome), 4. chariot (Spain and Rome), 5. *ornamenta triumphalia* (Spain), 6. Fortuna Redux altar (Spain and Rome), 7. standards and *clipeus virtutis* (Spain), 8. Parthian captive (Rome), 9. SIGNIS RECEPTIS epigraphic type (Pergamum), 10. Capricorn (Pergamum), 11. Victory with an *aqu ila* on globe (Spain).

⁴⁰³ E.g. *RIC I*² 278, 285, and 29a.

⁴⁰⁴ Fig. 106

*RIC I*² 277.

⁴⁰⁵ E.g. *RIC I*² 30a, 42a, 85a, and 90.

Caesaraugusta, and Colonia Patricia either explicitly give some variation of the legend MARS VLTOR or on some coins from Colonia Patricia showing a triumphal quadriga give the legend SPQR in reference to the chariot voted for Augustus by the Senate and the people in 19 BC.⁴⁰⁶ Reverses showing the quadriga alone either bear the legend SPQR or CAESARI AVGVSTO (to Caesar Augustus).⁴⁰⁷ Reverses from Spain portraying a figure of Mars Ultor alone holding an *aquila* and a standard always bear the legend SIGNIS RECEPTIS (the standards having been returned).⁴⁰⁸ The three coin types showing a Parthian arch that were minted at Pergamum, Colonia Patricia, and Rome bear the reverse legends SPR SIGNIS RECEPTIS IMP IX TR PO IV (or V), CIVIB(ibus) ET SIGN(is) MILIT(airbus) A PART(his) RECV(eratis) - citizens and standards having been returned from the Parthians -, and L VINICIVS SPQR IMP(eratori) CAE(sari), respectively.⁴⁰⁹ At Rome, reverses showing a Parthian captive invariably bear the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS SIGN(is) RECE(ptis). Both at Rome and at Pergamum, a variation of the legend ARMENIA CAPTA always accompanies reverse types portraying an Armenian captive. The change is evident with comparison with Caesarian types portraying a Gallic captive whose legend is simply CAESAR.⁴¹⁰ Even the short legend SIGN(nis) RECE(ptis) or ARMEN(ia) CAP(ta) adds a new level of specification to the captives on these Augustan coins. The other three types from Pergamum relating to Armenia are also accompanied by the legend ARMENIA CAPTA.⁴¹¹ The *ornamenta triumphalia*, including the *toga picta*, *tunica palmata*, and laurel wreath, awarded to Augustus for his Parthian success of 20 BC, and an *aquila* are

⁴⁰⁶ Figs. 113a-e

*RIC I*² 507, 39a, 69a, 105a, and 108b.

⁴⁰⁷ E.g. Fig. 109 (*RIC I*² 97) and *RIC I*² 107a.

⁴⁰⁸ Fig. 107

E.g. *RIC I*² 41 and 58.

⁴⁰⁹ Fig. 108a-c

*RIC I*² 508, 509, 131, and 357.

The type from Colonia Patricia is seen with the obverse legend SPQR IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TR (or I) POT VI.

⁴¹⁰ *RRC* 452.

Sutherland 1959: 49.

⁴¹¹ *RIC I*² 513-7.

used as an obverse type with the legend SPQR PARENTI CONS(eravatori) SVO (the Senate and the people of Rome [awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia*] to their parent and preserver).⁴¹² At Rome coins depicting the altar of Fortuna Redux are inscribed FOR(tunae) RE (duci) and accompanied by CAESARI AVGVSTO EX SC. At Colonia Patricia this type is inscribed FORT(unae) REDV(ci) CAESARI AVG(usto) SPQR.⁴¹³ The standards can also be seen with the *clipeus virtutis* inscribed CL V and the legend SIGNIS RECEPTIS.⁴¹⁴ The legend SIGNIS RECEPTIS can be seen with a Capricorn, and SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS is also used with the Capricorn or as an “epigraphic” type.⁴¹⁵

It is not only types related to Augustus’ Parthian and Armenian successes that are accompanied by such identifying legends. Types from Spain depicting the temple of Jupiter Tonans are seen with some variant of the legend IOVIS TONANTIS.⁴¹⁶ The type depicting the temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum is inscribed ROM ET AVG and is accompanied by COM(mune) ASIAE.⁴¹⁷ Four of the five types related to the *Ludi Saeculares* explicitly give some variation of the legend LVD(os) SAEC(ulares).⁴¹⁸ The reverse type depicting the *sidus Iulium* from Colonia Caesaraugusta is also accompanied by the legend DIVVS IVLIVS.⁴¹⁹

In light of the focus on “honorific” types throughout this section, three of the types related to Augustus’ Parthian success of 20 BC just described above should be discussed in more detail here. Dio 54.10.3 reports that upon Augustus’ return to Rome from the East in 19 BC, the Senate decreed that an altar to Fortuna Redux (the Fortune

⁴¹² Fig. 109

*RIC I*² 97.

⁴¹³ Fig. 110

*RIC I*² 322 and 55-56b.

⁴¹⁴ E.g. *RIC I*² 85a.

⁴¹⁵ E.g. *RIC I*² 521-523.

⁴¹⁶ Fig. 125

*RIC I*² 27 and 59.

It should be noted that other deities portrayed on Augustan coinage are now identified with an epithet (e.g. APOLLINI ACTIO, ACT, SICIL (*RIC I*² 365, 170, and 172)).

⁴¹⁷ *RIC I*² 505.

⁴¹⁸ *RIC I*² 138, 344, 350, and 354.

⁴¹⁹ *RIC I*² 37a.

Bringer-Back) be built. This altar was erected outside the Porta Capena, the point of Augustus' entry into Rome. On the reverse minted at Rome by Q. Rustius in 18 BC, the legend reads CAESARI AVGVSTO EX SC. However, on coins minted at Colonia Patricia it does not read S C, but rather SPQR. The significance of the use of SPQR will become clear later on. SPQR appears on the reverse legends of the Parthian arch types as well as the quadriga and *ornamenta triumphalia* types of Colonia Patricia.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the triple-bay Actian arch was modified to commemorate the return of the standards in 20 BC. In 54.8.3 Dio not only reports a vow made to build a temple to Mars Ultor, but also that Augustus was honoured with an arch decorated with trophies. Augustus declined the honour of a new Parthian arch, but agreed to integrate some new elements into the Actian arch's design.⁴²⁰ The Pergamene *cistophori* depicting a single-bay arch may simply be a symbolic representation of the central arch just like the Octavianic IMP CAESAR arch type. The Spanish type emphasizes the return of Roman citizens as well as the standards. A Parthian on one side arch holds a standard while the one on the other side arch holds an *aquila* and a bow. The type of Vinicius also shows a Parthian on each of the side arches. One of these Parthians is seen handing over an *aquila* to Augustus who is seen in a quadriga on top of the arch.⁴²¹ The quadriga is seen alone, in a temple of Mars Ultor, and on the reverse of a coin type depicting the *ornamenta triumphalia* awarded to Augustus (the parent and preserver (saviour)). The concept of Augustus as a conservator is a theme that runs throughout many of the "epigraphic" to which we can now turn to.

The "epigraphic" types minted at Rome minted by L. Mescinius Rufus, L. Vinicius, and C. Antistius Vetus are dated to 16 BC. Severy believes that these coins show a "struggle in depicting Augustus."⁴²² I would, however, agree with Sutherland in

⁴²⁰ Rich 1998: 114.

⁴²¹ Rich 1998: 128.

⁴²² Severy 2003: 74.

saying that these types and legends are “well–considered and deliberate”.⁴²³ It should be noted that the moneyers’ names still appear on either the obverse or reverse of these coins. The “vota” coins will be discussed in Chapter 4.5. I will, however, discuss one of these “vota” types in relation to the –quod clause that is employed on a couple of these types. The significance of this will become clear later on.

To begin with, then, there are the coins of L. Mescinius Rufus. One reverse type is dedicated to the Ludi Saeculares with a cippus inscribed IMP(erator) CAES(ar) AVG(ustus) LVD(os) SAEC(ulares) in five lines with XV(vir) S(acris) F(aciundis) to the right and left. Another coin of his reads S(enatus) C(onsulto) OB R(em) P(ublicam) CVM SALVT(e) IMP(eratoris) CAESAR(is) AVGVS(ti) CONS(eravatum) - [this shield] was decreed by Senatus Consultum because the Res Publica was saved by Augustus’ safety (because Augustus was healthy) - with an *imago clipeata* of Augustus on the obverse and a cippus inscribed IMP(erator) CAES(ar) AVGV(stus) COMM(uni) CONS(ensu) - Imperator Caesar Augustus by common consent - on the reverse. The obverse type is seen again on Fig. 126c and the reverse type is seen on another coin with an obverse bearing I(ovi) Optimo) M(aximo) S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) V(ota) S(uscepta) PR(o) S(alute) IMP(eratoris) CAE(saris) QVOD PER EV(m) R(es) P(ublica) IN AMP(liore) ATQ(ue) TRAN(quilliore) S(tatu) E(st) - the Senate and the Roman people [decree that] vows be undertaken to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the health of Imperator Caesar Augustus because through him the *res publica* is in a better and more tranquil state - in an oak wreath. Other “epigraphic” types are related to Augustus’ civil works. L. Vinicius minted a reverse type showing a cippus inscribed SPQR IMP(eratori) CAE(sari) QVOD V(iae) M(unitae) S(unt) EX E(a) P(ecunia) Q(uam) IS AD A(erarium) DE(tulit) - the Senate and the people [give thanks] to Imperator Caesaris Augustus for having caused the highways to be repaired

⁴²³ Sutherland 1943: 44.

with the money he procured from the treasury - with an obverse portraying a bare head of Augustus bearing the legend AVGVSTVS TR POT VII (or VIII) or portraying an equestrian statue of Augustus in front of city walls and a gate on a pedestal inscribed SPQR IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) as an obverse type. Reverse types minted at Colonia Patricia also refer to Augustus' road building. Augustus is seen crowned by Victory either in an elephant biga or in a horse quadriga on an arch or on a viaduct with the legend QVOD VIAE MVN(t) SVNT (because roads have been built) on the reverse with the bare head of Augustus on the obverse bearing the legend SPQR IMP CAESARI or SPQR CAESARI AVGVSTO.⁴²⁴

Two remarkable features appear on some of the legends mentioned above. SPQR is seen for the first time on Roman coins. P R appears on just a couple coins prior to 19 BC, and never combined with the Senate.⁴²⁵ Now SPQR becomes a formulaic legend on coins minted at Pergamum, in Spain, and at Rome, appearing on eleven types between these three mints.⁴²⁶ This introduction to Roman coinage seems to have received only passing notice by scholars such as Ramage and Rich.⁴²⁷ The emphasis placed on the granting of these honours by both the Senate and the *populus Romanus* is the key point; that is, these honours received the consensus of both the Senate and the people as suggested by the reverse types of 16 BC showing cippi inscribed IMP CAES AVGV COMM CONS (*communi consensu*), Fig. 111a and *RIC I*² 357. Consensus and constitutionality are being advertised on all these types. We should compare these coins to the *Res Gestae*. In *Res Gestae* 34.1, he writes that he “handed over the state from my power to the control of the Senate and the people. He

⁴²⁴ Figs. 111a-c

*RIC I*² 354, 357, 356 (Fig. 126c), 358, 360-62, and 140-5.

⁴²⁵ FORT P R (*RRC* 440), POPVL ISSV (*RRC* 518), IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERTATIS P R VINDEIX (*RIC I*² 476), and LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT.

⁴²⁶ *RIC I*²: 1. Victory and the *clipeus virtutis* (Spain), 2. *clipeus virtutis* (Spain), 3. laurel branches and *clipeus virtutis* (Spain), 4. standards and *clipeus virtutis* (Spain), 5. Fortuna Redux altar (Spain), 6. *ornamenta triumphalia* (Spain), 7. chariot within temple of Mars Ultor (Spain), 8. Parthian arch (Pergamum, Spain, and Rome), 9. “vota” types (Spain) 10. “civic works” types (Spain and Rome), 11. equestrian statue and cippus type (*RIC I*² 360 and 362).

⁴²⁷ Ramage 1998:438 and Rich 1998: 117n.147.

goes on to say that the laurel branches, *corona civica*, and *clipeus virtutis* were awarded to him by the Senate and the people. In *Res Gestae* 35, he says that the *populus Romanus universus*; that is, the Senate, the equestrian order, and the *populus Romanus* gave him the title of *Pater Patriae* in 2 BC.⁴²⁸

The use of the dative case for CAESAR AVGVSTVS is also seen for the first time. CAESARI AVGVSTO and IMP CAESARI are both employed. Levick suggests that the dative case appealed to the man whose head appeared on the obverse as a type of public tribute to a great individual; that is to say that the coins were in a sense dedicated to or for the emperor.⁴²⁹ However, these legends refer to type-content because they only appear on coins which show an honour or an honorific inscription voted for or granted to Augustus. The temple of Mars Ultor, Parthian arch, the *ornamenta triumphalia*, triumphal quadriga, and the altar of Fortuna Redux were all voted for or granted to Augustus by the Senate and the people, or the Senate alone, on account of his Parthian success of 20 BC.⁴³⁰ *Vota* for Augustus' safety and return were made by the Senate and people. Honorific statues and inscriptions were set up for Augustus by the Senate and people on account of his civil works. The dative case does not appear, for instance, on coins depicting the temple of Jupiter Tonans or on the coins related to the *Ludi Saeculares*.

The legends on many of these coins from Rome, Pergamum, and Spain, then refer to the formulaic language of Senatorial honorific decrees. Senatorial decrees normally gave a reason for the decree, included in the theme, which then introduces the decree proper.⁴³¹ In these cases, it is the Senate and/or people voting for or granting Augustus honours for various reasons. The use of the ablative and the quod-clause are rather common on these coins. The *corona civica* has been voted "for saving citizens" –

⁴²⁸ For recent studies on the importance of the *populus Romanus* in the Augustan age see e.g. Ramage 1987 and Lobur 2008.

⁴²⁹ Levick 1982:107 and 1999.

⁴³⁰ E.g. Dio 54.8.3.

⁴³¹ Sherk 1969: 7-8.

OB CIVIS SERVATOS. The figure of Mars Ultor and the standards are seen with SIGNIS RECEPTIS (the standards having been recaptured). The reverse type depicting the Parthian arch from Colonia Patricia bears the legend CIVIB(us) ET SIGN(is) MILIT(aribus) A PART(his) RECVP(eratis) – the citizens and military standards having been recovered from the Parthians. The “civil works” types from Colonia Patricia depicting Augustus’ roadworks bear the legend QVOD VIAE MVN(t) SVNT – because roads have been built. The obverse type showing Augustus in an *imago clipeata* was conferred “because the *res publica* has been saved along with the health of Emperor Caesar Augustus.” Another obverse type can be translated “the Senate and the Roman people [decree that] vows be undertaken to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the health of Emperor Caesar Augustus because through him the *res publica* is in a better and more tranquil state”. It should be noted that these two obverse types find a visual correspondence in Cossus Cornelius Lentulus’ reverse type of 12 BC, depicting Augustus raising up Respublica and bearing the legend COSSVS LENTVLVS RES PVB AVGVST, Fig. 112d., that will be discussed in the following section.⁴³²

What is new, then, upon examination of the increasing employment of Senatorial honorific decrees in the Late Republic, is that these decrees and the honours they awarded are now found in bulk on the medium of coinage. What is first viewed on other artistic media and written records is now transposed onto coins.

3.6 OTHER DEVELOPMENTS TO 12 BC

Some of the coins minted at Rome by the colleges of C. Marius Tro, C. Sulpicius Platorinus, and C. Antistius Reginus in 13 BC and of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, L. Lentulus, and L. Caninius Gallus in 12 BC do portray members of the

⁴³² RIC I² 413.

Augustan family.⁴³³ These types will be discussed in Chapter 5.4. However, they also issued types with “Republican” elements. To begin with, the moneyers’ names appear on all these coins in the traditional Republican manner. Second, many of the obverse and reverse types of these coins have numismatic precedents. Some of C. Marius Tro’s obverses depict a lituus and/or a simpulum behind the head of Augustus, just as earlier obverse portraits of Julius Caesar, Antony, and Octavian portrayed varying priestly symbols relating to their respective priesthoods. The only intervening obverse portraits of Augustus to depict priestly symbols until these coins of Marius were *cistophori* minted in 27-26 BC in Pergamum.⁴³⁴ The coins of C. Antistius Reginus directly copy those of C. Antistius Vetus from 16 BC.⁴³⁵

The four reverse types that solely depict only Augustus are not so novel. The figure of Augustus, veiled and togate, holding a simpulum recalls two earlier types that show L. Cornificius and Antony as veiled and togate, holding a lituus.⁴³⁶ The figure of Augustus, veiled and togate, ploughing with a yoke of oxen before city walls, recalls the earlier Octavianic precedent, Fig. 52.⁴³⁷ Scholars disagree about the coin of L. Lentulus that depicts Augustus, laureate and togate, resting on the *clipeus virtutis* and placing a star on a half-clad figure, apparently a statue, holding a Victory and a spear. Some, such as Mattingly, identify the figure as Agrippa, while others, such as Sutherland, suggest Julius Caesar. Since Agrippa was never deified, it is therefore safe to attribute this figure to Caesar.⁴³⁸ As discussed earlier, this image clearly refers back

⁴³³ Some scholars, such as Rose 1990: 443n.2, disagree about the order in which these colleges minted. However, given the predominance of Agrippa on the issues of C. Marius Tro and C. Sulpicius Platorinus it is safe to say, in agreement with *BMCRE I*: xcvi and *RIC I*²: p.72, that their college minted in 13 BC. Augustus and Agrippa renewed their tribunician powers in 13 BC.

⁴³⁴ *RIC I*²: Compare 397-404 and 487-90.

⁴³⁵ *RIC I*² 363, 367, and 410-411.

⁴³⁶ Fig. 112a

*RIC I*² 398. See also *RRC* 509 and (Fig. 40c) 533/2.

⁴³⁷ Fig. 112b

*RIC I*² 402 and Fig. 52 (*RIC I*² 272).

⁴³⁸ Fig. 112c

*RIC I*² 415.

Mattingly *BMCRE I*: cviii and Sutherland *RIC I*² 415.

to the appearance of a comet in the summer of 44 BC that Octavian took to symbolize as Caesar's divinity, and as a result, statues of Caesar were thus affixed with a star.

There are also precedents for the iconography and theme of the reverse type that depicts Augustus, togate, extending a hand to a kneeling *Respublica* with the legend RES PVB AVGVST.⁴³⁹ It should be remembered that in 71 BC, M. Aquillius minted a reverse type portraying a soldier raising up a fallen female figure, the personification of Sicily, which was copied later by L. Aquillius Florus in 19 BC. A more similar type is that of L. Staius Murcus, minted in 42-41 BC, which shows a male figure raising up a kneeling female figure, perhaps the personification of Roma.⁴⁴⁰ As mentioned above, three of the "epigraphic" types from 16 BC associate Augustus with a "preserved", and "better" *Respublica*. Two coin types bear the obverse legend: S(enatus) C(onsulto) OB R(em) P(ublicam) CVM SALVT(e) IMP(eratoris) CAESAR(is) AVGVS(ti) CONS(ervatam). Another coin type bears the reverse legend: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) V(ota) S(uscepta) PR(o) S(alute) IMP(eratoris) CAE(saris) QVOD PER EV(m) R(es) P(ublica) IN AMP(liore) ATQ(ue) TRAN(quilliore) S(tatu) E(st). The reverse of C. Cornelius Lentulus is a visual expression of these legends. The theme of restoration is evident here and should also recall the LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT *aureus* of 28 BC. Restoring the statutes and laws to the people of Rome is one example of how Augustus made the *Respublica* "greater and more tranquil".⁴⁴¹ Thus, these figures of Augustus portrayed individually on these coins of 13-12 BC evoke prior coin types primarily from the Octavianic period.

Some other types of C. Marius Tro and L. Caninius Gallus are also not novel. The reverse type of C. Marius Tro depicting a riderless quadriga has already been seen

⁴³⁹ Fig. 112d

*RIC I*² 413.

⁴⁴⁰ *RRC* 401, 510, and *RIC I*² 310.

⁴⁴¹ *RIC I*² 357, Figs. 126c (356), and 111a (358).

For further reference on *RIC I*² 413, see Vermeule 1960.

on an IMP CAESAR coin of c. 32-27 BC and on coins from Rome (19 BC) and Colonia Patricia (19-16 BC). His reverse type depicting a head of Diana was also recently seen before on an Octavianic IMP CAESAR coin, Fig. 20e, and *aurei* and *denarii* depicting Diana were also being minted at Lugdunum in 15-10 BC.⁴⁴² As discussed above, the barbarian type was already a common Republican numismatic motif, while the honours awarded to Augustus in 27 BC became especially prominent on coins from Rome and Spain between 19 BC and 16 BC. One reverse type of Gallus shows a kneeling, Germanic barbarian holding a vexillum, while another shows a laurel wreath above a closed door flanked by laurel branches.⁴⁴³

3.7 CONCLUSIONS

The coins of the Roman mint of 23-12 BC are much more complex than to be perfunctorily classified by a gradual progression of typology from “Republican”, to “transitional”, and finally “imperial”. While these types do in fact relate to Augustus, whether directly, or indirectly, they employ numerous types of both Hellenistic and “Republican” motifs. The Augustus/Numa *asses* of 23 BC employ the traditional “ancestral portrait” type. It should be noted that there was an iconographic tradition to portray some of the legendary kings of Rome in the manner of Hellenistic monarchs. This should not go unnoticed when one looks at these *asses*. The coin types of 19 BC rely heavily on Hellenistic artistic media. The types of 16 BC introduce an increase in explanatory legends and a new category of types – “honorific” types – that advertise the consensus of the Senate and the people. The coins of 13-12 BC should not be called “imperial” or “dynastic”. They rely heavily on “Republican” elements. Thus, the

⁴⁴² Compare *RIC I*² 399 to Figs. 29 (*RIC I*² 258), 82 (*RIC I*² 303), and 109 (*RIC I*² 97). *RIC I*² 403 and e.g. 172 and 196.

Some scholars, such as Fullerton 1985: 476, see features of Julia on this Diana type of C. Marius Tro. However, this head does not resemble other portraits of Julia and should be identified only as Diana.

⁴⁴³ Compare *RIC I*² 416 and 419 to Figs. 87b (*RIC I*² 314) and 106 (*RIC I*² 277).

classification of this group of coins is slightly more nuanced than what has traditionally been written about the mint at Rome from 23 BC to 12 BC.

CHAPTER 4

THE MARS ULTOR COINS OF C. 19-16 BC

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In 42 BC Augustus vowed to build a temple of Mars if he were victorious in avenging the assassination of his adoptive father Julius Caesar.⁴⁴⁴ While *ultio* on Brutus and Cassius was a well-grounded theme in Roman society at large and was the principal slogan of Augustus and the Caesarians before and after the Battle of Philippi, the vow remained unfulfilled until 20 BC.⁴⁴⁵ In 20 BC, Augustus renewed his vow to Mars Ultor when Roman standards lost to the Parthians in 53, 40, and 36 BC were recovered by diplomatic negotiations. The temple of Mars Ultor then took on a new role; it honoured Rome's *ultio* exacted from the Parthians. As discussed in Chapter 3.3, Parthia had been depicted as a prime foe ever since Crassus' defeat at Carrhae in 53 BC. Before his death in 44 BC, Caesar planned a Parthian campaign.⁴⁴⁶ In 40 BC L. Decidius Saxa was defeated when Parthian forces invaded Roman Syria. In 36 BC Antony's Parthian campaign was in the end unsuccessful.⁴⁴⁷ Indeed, the Forum temple of Mars Ultor was not dedicated until 2 BC when Augustus received the title of Pater Patriae and when Gaius departed to the East to turn the diplomatic settlement of 20 BC into a military victory. Nevertheless, Augustus made his Parthian success of 20 BC the centre of a grand "propagandistic" programme the principal theme of his new forum, and the reason for renewing his vow to build a temple to Mars Ultor.

The epithet "Ultor" for a Roman deity is not known before the Augustan age. This epithet was not connected to Julius Caesar's planned temple to Mars on the

⁴⁴⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus* 29 and Ovid, *Fasti* 5.577.

⁴⁴⁵ Roman society at large: Appian, *BC* 3.6, 11, 12, 32, 40, and 43; Augustus and the Caesarians: Appian, *BC* 3.12; Florus 2.14; Dio 45.4.3 and 47.42.

⁴⁴⁶ Dio 43.51.1.

⁴⁴⁷ For further references, see Sherwin-White 1984: 279-290 on Crassus, 302-303 on Saxa, and 307-321 on Antony.

Campus Martius.⁴⁴⁸ “Ultor” is first employed as part of the legend accompanying the Augustan coins minted from c. 19 BC to 16 BC depicting a temple of Mars. Augustus explicitly calls the temple in his Forum Augustum the temple of Mars Ultor in *Res Gestae* 21.1-2. Other sources name either a temple of Mars or a temple of Mars Ultor in reference to the same structure. Some texts simply refer to a temple of Mars such as Velleius Paterculus 2.100.2 and Dio 55.1-9. Others, such as *CIL* VI 8709: *aedituus aed. Martis Ultoris*, clearly use the epithet “Ultor”.⁴⁴⁹

One of the ways in which Augustus immediately advertised his Parthian success was by issuing coins depicting a temple of Mars Ultor at Pergamum and Spain (at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia) from c. 19 BC to 16 BC. The significance of these coins has been a question of debate for centuries. Since these coins were minted well before the Forum Temple of Mars (Ultor) was completed and do not in any way resemble the rectangular Forum temple with an octastyle pronaos and flanking colonnaded porticoes, the majority of scholars have interpreted these coins as representative of another temple of Mars Ultor, which was supposedly decreed in 20 BC to be constructed at Rome on the Capitol. The belief is based on Cassius Dio 54.8.3:

Thus sacrifices in honor of his achievement and a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol for the reception of the standards, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, were decreed on his [Augustus'] orders and carried out by him. Moreover, he entered the city on horseback and was honored with a triumphal arch.⁴⁵⁰

No other author records a Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor, and there is no archaeological evidence for this temple, so only the coins of c. 19-16 BC might support Dio's report of a Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor. Excavations conducted on the Capitoline to date have not provided any archaeological evidence of a temple of Mars Ultor. In 1951 Smith wrote:

⁴⁴⁸ Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 44.

⁴⁴⁹ As will be seen below, it is interesting to note that while Dio does not use an epithet in 55.10.1-9, he does do so in 54.8.3 with reference to a temple of Mars on the Capitol.

⁴⁵⁰ Transl. Rich 1990: 78-79.

Not only have excavations failed to find on the Capitol anything like the round *sacrarium* which...scholars have conjured up as their idea of Dio's temple; it has been shown that no such building was transported to form part of the [Forum Temple of Mars Ultor]...[the phrase] *in penetrali quod est in templo Martis Ultoris* [*Res Gestae* 29.1] cannot mean "in the building now reërected, as innermost shrine in the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor."⁴⁵¹

Nevertheless, in 1993 Reusser still lists a Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor. He does not cite any archaeological evidence for his entry, but refers to Dio 54.8.3 and the Mars Ultor coins of c. 19-16 BC.⁴⁵² In *Mapping Augustan Rome*, published in 2002, Thein provides this very reasonable description for his entry on the Area Capitolina: "[a] temple of Mars Ultor *would* be placed 'on the Capitol'...*if only we could believe in its existence*."⁴⁵³

Some scholars, such as Zanker, believe that a temporary temple of Mars Ultor was built on the Capitol in 20 BC constructed to temporarily house the restored Roman standards from 19 BC to 2 BC, while others deny the existence of this temple.⁴⁵⁴ Rich and Spannagel take a slightly different approach and argue that these coins portray a projected design of a permanent Capitoline temple. Rich believes that the Senate first wanted to build the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol, but this proposal was then rejected by Augustus who wanted to make the temple a part of his new Forum.⁴⁵⁵ Spannagel believes that Augustus first wanted to build his temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol, but then decided to construct it in his new Forum.⁴⁵⁶ Van der Vin suggests some building in Asia Minor is represented on the *cistophori* and that the coins from

⁴⁵¹ Smith 1951: 195-196. See 195n.14 for the excavation reports Smith cites and for his observation that "the really striking and cogent part of the archaeological case against Dio is contributed by the *diplomata*: no temple of Mars is among the Capitoline landmarks to which these refer."

⁴⁵² Reusser 1993: 32-51. See especially p.41 and 49.

⁴⁵³ Haselberger 2002: 53. Italics are my own.

No mention of a Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor is made in Claridge 1998. However, it is accounted for in *LTUR* III: 230-231 (entry by Reusser).

⁴⁵⁴ Rich 1998: 82 provides complete lists of all those who support and reject the idea of a temporary Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor.

⁴⁵⁵ Rich 1998: 86.

⁴⁵⁶ Spannagel 1999: 41-72 and 79-85.

Spain portray the supposed temporary Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor.⁴⁵⁷ Morawiecki believes that both the *cistophori* and the Spanish *aurei* and *denarii* commemorate the imperial cult in Ephesus.⁴⁵⁸ Smith, who was the first to deny its existence, thought these coins portray a projected design of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor, either “an architect’s tentative plan or only a die-sinker’s fancy.”⁴⁵⁹

The idea of a temporary Capitoline temple can justifiably be questioned. The building of any kind of temple would have to be accompanied by strict ritual observances by religious authorities, and it is debatable whether or not religious principles would have allowed for the dedication of this type of temple. Furthermore, I am unaware of the existence of any other temporary temple in Rome. I agree with Rich in saying that Morawiecki’s interpretation of these coins is “wholly unconvincing.”⁴⁶⁰ First of all, the legends all explicitly give the name MARS VLTOR, although sometimes abbreviated. Secondly, the imperial cult is not attested at Rome at this time. It is unlikely that the coins show a projected design of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor because that was built as an octastyle peripteros!⁴⁶¹

It should be noted that there has been an attempt to emend Dio’s text. Fabricius “corrected” this passage by saying that “on the Capitol” should come after “Jupiter Feretrius.”⁴⁶² No modern scholar, and rightfully so, has accepted this emendation. Rich believes that Dio most likely gave the topographical location for the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius in another passage which is now lost; in fact, three other passages that mention

⁴⁵⁷ van der Vin 1981: 125-127.

Hannah 1998: 432-433 follows van der Vin’s thinking.

⁴⁵⁸ Morawiecki 1976.

⁴⁵⁹ Smith 1951: 202.

⁴⁶⁰ Rich 1998: 85n.56.

⁴⁶¹ Interestingly enough, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, engravings depict the Forum Augustum with a round temple of Mars Ultor. For instance, see Pirro Ligorio’s map of Rome from 1561 and Pietro Bartoli’s 1699 engraving. There are four main manuscripts of Ligorio’s antiquarian papers (the Paris, Oxford, Naples, and Turin manuscripts). The Naples and Turin manuscripts are primarily devoted to studies on Greek and Roman numismatics (e.g. Naples B.6 is a corpus of Roman coins from Julius Caesar to Constantine VI). Thus, it is more than likely that the round temple of Mars Ultor that is seen in this map of Rome is derived from his study of a coin collection that included these Augustan Mars Ultor coins. For further reference, see Mandowsky and Mitchell 1963: 35-45.

⁴⁶² Reimar 1750: 736.

the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius do not record the location of the temple.⁴⁶³ Thus Smith says, “in the circumstances it is methodical to trust the text of [54.8.3] and question only its information.”⁴⁶⁴

Dio lists a number of honours voted to celebrate the return of the standards, including the approval of the temple. The crucial passage is where Dio reports the approval of the construction of a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline. But Dio concludes this passage by noting that these honours, notably the temple of Mars Ultor and the triumphal arch, were only constructed later. In my opinion, Dio’s text is compatible with the view that a vow of a temple on the Capitoline was only fulfilled later when this temple was built instead in a new forum of Augustus. That Dio did not give the location of the Forum Augustum may not be so surprising. Indeed, the text of Dio, as we have it, is known to have some factual problems. Two curiosities to do with other Augustan buildings will suffice. In 53.27.2-3 the explanation of the Pantheon’s name (that is, the Pantheon is called so because it is “a temple of all the gods”) that Dio gives as an alternative is actually correct.⁴⁶⁵ In 54.25.3 he mentions that the Senate voted an altar to be erected in the Senate house in 13 BC, but does not mention anything about the Ara Pacis. Another factual problem is that Dio gives August 1st as the dedication date of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.⁴⁶⁶ That 2 BC was the year of the dedication of this temple is undeniable. Velleius Paterculus says that the temple was dedicated during the consulship of Augustus and L. Caninius Gallus which occurred in 2 BC.⁴⁶⁷ The source of the problem then lies with the fact that there is another date given for games of Mars in association with the dedication of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor: four ancient calendars (*Feriale Cumanum*, *Fasti Maffeiani*, *Philocalus*, and the *Feriale Duranum*) record May 12th for the *Ludi Martiales*. Ovid

⁴⁶³ Rich 1990: 80.

⁴⁶⁴ Smith 1951: 197.

⁴⁶⁵ Stamper 2005: 200-203.

⁴⁶⁶ 60.5.3. He gives the year as 2 BC in 55.10.

⁴⁶⁷ 2.100.2.

also gives May 12th as the date for the *Ludi Martiales* in *Fasti* 5.545-598 which gives his grand description of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor. Indeed, games occurred on both of these days in 2 BC; but only one of these days was the dedication date of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor.⁴⁶⁸ It is also known from Suetonius that the Forum Augustum was opened before construction of the temple was finished.⁴⁶⁹ It seems most logical that the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated on May 12th as part of the first opening of the Forum. Thus, Dio must be read with caution.⁴⁷⁰ There are two possible interpretations of Dio's passage. Either the Capitol was never specified or the Capitol was specified in 20 BC, but a change of plan came later. It is my opinion that the latter is more likely. It may be safe, then, to say that while a decree was passed in 20 BC to build a Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor, the temple was not eventually built in that location.

4.2 THE MARS ULTOR COINS AND THEIR MINTS AND DATE

Coins portraying a temple of Mars Ultor were minted at Pergamum and in Spain at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia. The *cistophori* issued at Pergamum have an obverse portraying a bare-headed Augustus with the legend IMP IX TR PO V and a reverse showing a domed tetrastyle temple with five steps enclosing a vexillum and the legend MART VLTO. *Aurei* and *denarii* were issued at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia. The coins of Colonia Caesaraugusta have obverses showing a bare-headed Augustus with the legend AVGVSTVS or CAESAR AVGVSTVS and a reverse depicting a domed tetrastyle temple with four steps enclosing a figure of Mars Ultor holding an *aquila* and a standard and the legend MARTIS VLTORIS. At Colonia Patricia, some coins have an obverse depicting a bare-headed Augustus with the legend

⁴⁶⁸ Hannah 1998: 425.

⁴⁶⁹ Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.1.

⁴⁷⁰ It should be noted that problems in Dio may also stem from Byzantine chroniclers, notably Zonaras and Xiphilinus, who made the excerpts from Dio's History which survive to us.

CAESAR AVGVSTVS and reverses portraying either a tetrastyle or hexastyle domed temple with three steps enclosing a figure of Mars Ultor holding an *aquila* and a standard with the legend MAR VLT, MART VLT, MART VLTO, or MARTIS VLTORIS, whereas the other coins have obverses showing a laureate Augustus with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS or CAESARI AVGVSTO and reverses portraying a domed, hexastyle temple with three steps enclosing three standards and the legend MAR VLT or MART VLTO, and yet other coins have an obverse depicting a laureate Augustus with the legend CAESARI AVGVSTO and reverses with either a domed tetrastyle or hexastyle temple with three steps enclosing a quadriga, shaft up, containing an *aquila* and surmounted by four miniature galloping horses.⁴⁷¹

There has been much debate over the mints and dates of these issues. Scholars disagree about the location of the mint that issued these *cistophori* with Mars Ultor, and also the Commune Asiae and the Parthian arch reverses. Mattingly and Morawiecki, for instance, attributed them to the mint at Ephesus.⁴⁷² These *cistophori* however, have since then been more plausibly assigned to Pergamum by Woodward and Sutherland.⁴⁷³ The portrayal of a temple of Roma and Augustus justifies Pergamum as the appropriate mint because a temple of Roma and Divus Julius was built at Ephesus, but a temple of Roma and Augustus was constructed at Pergamum.⁴⁷⁴ Sutherland has also demonstrated how these *cistophori* were minted alongside *aurei* and *denarii* that allude to the Parthian and Armenian settlements of 20 BC, that is coins with the reverse legends Armenia Capta, Armenia Recapta(or cepta), Signis Receptis, Signis Parthicis

⁴⁷¹ The wall inside the temple shown on the Mars Ultor *cistophori* is a cella wall. Numismatic convention generally eliminates the cella from portrayals of temples to bring forth the cult statue or other cultic objects.

Figs. 113a-e

*RIC I*² 507, 39a, 69a, 105a, and 108b.

It should also be noted that Alexandrian bronzes from about 17 BC or later depict the head of Augustus with the legend SEBASTOS on the obverse with a reverse bearing the legend KAISAR and a tetrastyle round, conical temple containing one standard, in the same manner as the Mars Ultor *cistophori* from Pergamum (*RPC I*: 5003).

⁴⁷² *BMCRE I*: cxxv and p.114; Morawiecki 1976.

⁴⁷³ Woodward 1952; *RIC I*² 36 and 82.

⁴⁷⁴ Dio 51.20.

Receptis and various reverse images depicting Parthian and Armenian motifs.⁴⁷⁵ The *cistophori* were presumably issued for local circulation, and the *aurei* and *denarii* were minted for to pay the legionaries who were involved in the mobilisations that resulted in the Parthian and Armenian settlements. Moreover, while the *aurei* and *denarii* were produced with urgency, the *cistophori* were produced with greater preparation. For instance, the first group of *denarii* to be issued bore uninscribed obverses. On the other hand, the Mars Ultor *cistophori* show that “obvious skill was applied in suggesting the temple’s circular shape and the depth of the central opening conveys a real idea of the interior perspective.”⁴⁷⁶

The location of the western mints that issued Mars Ultor coins has also been debated. Mattingly attributed these coins to the Spanish mints of Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia.⁴⁷⁷ Grant attributed them to Nemausus on the grounds that an obverse die found there has similar stylistic characteristics to the coins given to Colonia Patricia by Mattingly.⁴⁷⁸ Mattingly’s attribution has now been accepted by Sutherland.⁴⁷⁹ More simply, perhaps, the belief that Nemausus would have minted these *aurei* and *denarii* rather than Spain is not so plausible. Spain was the focus of military activity in the west from 27 BC to 19 BC. Colonia Caesaraugusta received three of the four legions stationed permanently in Spain.⁴⁸⁰ The overall character of the gold and silver coinage minted in Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia is militaristic. A general theme runs through both mints: Augustus’ accession honours, military victories and triumphal honours are completely intertwined, so that

⁴⁷⁵ *RIC I*²: 82-83.

⁴⁷⁶ Sutherland 1970: 117.

⁴⁷⁷ *BMCRE* 1: cviii.

⁴⁷⁸ Grant 1951: 100-104.

⁴⁷⁹ *RIC I*²: 25-26.

⁴⁸⁰ *RIC I*²: 26.

Victory and the personage of Augustus are inseparable and one cannot be honoured without the other.⁴⁸¹

These Mars Ultor coins have been variously dated, most commonly to 19-18 BC. Two of these types can be more or less precisely dated. The Mars Ultor *cistophori* bear the obverse legend IMP IX TR PO V. The other two Pergamene *cistophoric* types (the Commune Asiae and the Parthian arch) have obverses bearing the legends IMP IX TR PO IV or IMP IX TR PO V. No Pergamene *cistophorus* depicting a temple of Mars Ultor has been found that is dated prior to June 27th, 19 BC. However, this does not necessarily mean that Mars Ultor *cistophori* bearing the obverse legend IMP IX TR PO IV were not minted. As mentioned before, the triumphal chariot was awarded to Augustus only on October 12th, 19 BC.⁴⁸² Thus, the earliest date of the Mars Ultor *aurei* and *denarii* depicting a temple enclosing a triumphal chariot can only be the late autumn of 19 BC. Some numismatic catalogues and handbooks simply group all the coins minted in Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia into large chronological blocks. Robertson's *HCC 1* dates the coins of Colonia Caesaraugusta from 25 BC to 16 BC and those of Colonia Patricia from 19 BC to 16 BC. Sutherland and Carson's *AMCRE 1* date the coins of Colonia Caesaraugusta from 25 BC to 17 BC and those from Colonia Patricia from 25 BC to 16 BC. Sutherland's *Emperor and the Coinage* also gives 25-17 BC for Colonia Caesaraugusta and 25-16 BC for Colonia Patricia.⁴⁸³ Some catalogues propose tighter dating. In *BMCRE 1*, Mattingly dates the coins of Colonia Caesaraugusta from 18 BC to 17 BC, and the coins from Colonia Patricia from 19 BC to 16/15 BC. In *BMCRR 2*, *CBN 1*, and *RIC 1*², the Mars Ultor coins are attributed to 19/18 BC. Various recent articles also attribute these coins to 19/18 BC.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸¹ For all the coin types of Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia that were minted in 19-18 BC, see Sutherland 1945 and *RIC 1*²: 43-49.

⁴⁸² Cassiodorus, *Chronica: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum* 1894: 135.

⁴⁸³ Earlier scholarship has dated the foundation of Colonia Caesaraugusta to 25 BC; hence, the start date of 25 BC. More recently, the foundation of this colony has been down dated to c.19 BC (e.g. *RPC 1*: 117).

⁴⁸⁴ E.g. van der Vin, Simpson, Spannagel, Hannah, and Rich.

However, there is no reason to limit the Mars Ultor coins to 18 BC. Other elements of the Parthian theme are still advertised down to 16 BC. *Aurei* and *denarii* minted at Colonia Patricia have reverses depicting a Parthian arch with obverses bearing the legend SPQR IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TR PO VI.⁴⁸⁵ At Rome, L. Vinicius issued *denarii* depicting the Parthian arch in 16 BC.⁴⁸⁶ “Vota” types and “civil works” types minted in Rome are dated to 16 BC by their obverse legends, AVGVSTVS TR POT VII or AVGVSTVS TR POT VIII (or TR POT IIX). Similar types are also found in Colonia Patricia.⁴⁸⁷ It is possible, then, that these Mars Ultor coins were still being minted in 16 BC; and so, as a whole, it may be best to date these reverse types from around 19 BC to 16 BC. Furthermore, it was in 15 BC that *aurei* and *denarii* began to be minted in Lugdunum.⁴⁸⁸

4.3 ARCHITECTURA NUMISMATICA

In this section I will argue that a comparative study of Roman coinage portraying temple architecture from the Republican period to the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty period suggest that these Mars Ultor coins do not depict an existing temple or a projected design of a temple. Numismatic portrayals of temples on Roman coinage can be divided into three categories: accurate portrayals of existent temples, imagined representations of temples not yet existent, and symbolic representations of temples. In a seminal study on *architectura numismatica*, Burnett writes that:

The die-engraver was not primarily concerned to depict a particular monument. His primary concern was, instead to refer to a particular event or idea that might also happen to be commemorated in a particular monument rather than to depict the monument itself.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁵ Fig. 108b

*RIC I*² 136.

⁴⁸⁶ Fig. 108c

*RIC I*² 359.

⁴⁸⁷ E.g. Fig. 126c and 111c

*RIC I*² 1356 and 145.

See also *RIC I*² 350-362, 369 (Rome), and 140-153 (Colonia Patricia).

⁴⁸⁸ *RIC I*²: 52.

⁴⁸⁹ Burnett 1999: 151.

He goes on to say that “it is the idea rather than the actual structure that is the objective of the die-engraver” and that numismatic depictions of monuments can simply be “interpretations rather than reproductions of buildings.”⁴⁹⁰ In his study of temples on Greek imperial coinage, Drew-Bear writes that in general:

It is evident that archaeological evidence fails to confirm numismatic testimony with regard to architectural details. Numismatic representations must therefore be treated in this respect with great caution for clearly such depictions attain their face value as evidence only when they are compared with the results of actual excavation of the monuments which they portray.⁴⁹¹

With these citations in mind, then, I propose rather that the images on these Mars Ultor coins depict some idea that a temple will be built.

Accurate portrayals of temples can indeed be found on Roman coins from the Republic to the end of the Julio-Claudian period. These depictions are supported by literary and/or archaeological evidence. Coins in this category show consistent portrayals of temples. Minor variations do take place, such as the direction the temple faces or the proportion of a temple structure, but essentially all the same features are seen. Features that were not a part of the temple are never added.

Brown refers to the coins depicting the Temple of Concord as “a splendid example of the adherence to actuality.”⁴⁹² From AD 35-37, Tiberius minted *sestertii* in Rome depicting the Temple of Concord as an obverse type.⁴⁹³ These coins portray a hexastyle temple with lateral extensions, a statue is seen in the central doorway, and two other statues flank the podium. The lateral extensions on the coins give way to a sideways layout in which the width of the building is greater than the length. All of

⁴⁹⁰ Burnett 1999:152.

⁴⁹¹ Drew-Bear 1984: 63.

⁴⁹² Brown 1940: 14.

⁴⁹³ Fig. 114

*RIC I*²: Tiberius 67.

these features are supported by archaeological evidence.⁴⁹⁴ Coins depicting the Temple of Janus were minted by Nero in Rome and Lugdunum from AD 65-67. The coins depict garlanded, arched doors flanked by columns as well as two lines of windows. Minor variations do occur, such as the direction in which the temple is facing, but the main features are always invariable.⁴⁹⁵ In his *History of Wars* 5.25.19, Procopius gives a detailed account of this temple that incidentally corresponds to the image seen on these coins; that is, this temple was a small, rectangular building made of bronze and two doors opposite each other.

Some Roman coins show projected temples which had not yet been built or were never built. Coins minted in Rome in 44 BC show a tetrastyle Ionic temple of Clementia and Caesar with a globe on the pediment and no steps. The Temple of Clementia Caesaris was decreed to be built in 44 BC, but was never actually built.⁴⁹⁶ It seems that by numismatic convention the podium on these coins is seen without steps to show a yet not existent temple. Coins were minted in Africa in 36 BC that portray a tetrastyle temple within which is a veiled figure with a lituus, the *sidus Iulium* on the pediment, and a high podium without steps. The Temple of Divus Julius was vowed in 42 BC, did not begin to be built until 31 BC, and was not dedicated until 29 BC.⁴⁹⁷

One post-Augustan example seems to reflect a change in design. Coins minted at Tarraco in the period AD 15-23 depict the temple of Augustus, authorized by Tiberius in AD 15, as an octostyle temple on a high stylobate which resembles two steps, while a second issue, minted around AD 22-23, depicts an octastyle temple on a podium with four steps; also the design changes from a figure of Augustus on a throne

⁴⁹⁴ Cox 1993: 262-263 and figs. 4-5.

⁴⁹⁵ Fig. 115

*RIC I*²: Nero 584.

⁴⁹⁶ Fig. 116

RRC 480/21.

Weinstock 1971: 241.

⁴⁹⁷ Fig. 117

RRC 540/2.

in the first issue to a figure of Augustus on a *sella curulis* in the second issue, apparently reflecting a change in the realization of the cult statue.⁴⁹⁸

Coins can also depict features closely related to the cult of a temple or to an event or idea associated with a temple in a symbolic rather than a realistic manner. For example, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on coins of the *gens* Volteia from 78 BC has a thunderbolt on the pediment; the thunderbolt is just a common attribute used as a visual identifier for the temple.⁴⁹⁹ Coins of Mark Anthony minted in 42 BC show the Temple of Sol enclosing a medallion bearing the radiate bust of Sol.⁵⁰⁰

4.4 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MARS ULTOR COINS

The Mars Ultor coins also portray a symbolic representation of a temple of Mars Ultor. Indeed, Smith's question is fitting: "who can believe their farce of "Box and Cox", this romping in-and-out of cult statue and chariot was ever really played out in a real temple?"⁵⁰¹ These coins portray either a tetrastyle or hexastyle temple that enclose either standards, a figure of Mars Ultor, or a triumphal chariot. Some coins combine these objects: Mars Ultor is seen with an *aquila* and a standard while the triumphal chariot is seen with an *aquila*. There are varying *aquilae* and *signa* shown on the Mars Ultor coins and are simply to be regarded as an allusion to the Parthian success and not as representations of the actual Roman standards that were returned.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁸ Figs. 118a and b
RPC I: 222 and 224.

For further reference on these coins, see Fishwick 1999:102-112.

⁴⁹⁹ Fig. 119

RRC 385/4.

⁵⁰⁰ Fig. 120

RRC 496/1.

The Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum as seen on the *gens* Cassia is another clear example of the symbolic representation of a temple (Fig. 121 – *RRC* 428/1).

⁵⁰¹ Smith 1951: 202.

⁵⁰² It is even unlikely that the *denarii* of 19 BC from Rome (e.g. Fig. 87b – *RIC I*² 314) that portray a kneeling Parthian extending a vexillum marked X depict an actual vexillum that was returned to Rome in 20 BC. It cannot be known with certainty that a tenth legion was among the legions defeated by Parthia in either 53 or 36 BC. See van der Vin 1981: 127.

It seems unlikely that a specific cult statue of Mars Ultor was the model for the figure of Mars Ultor seen on these coins.⁵⁰³ One might suppose that there are so many variations because this image is just a projected design of the cult statue. However, the coins depicting a temple of Divus Julius, minted long before the temple was completed, invariably depict a veiled figure holding a *lituus* and facing front. More simply, perhaps, other representations of the cult statue thought to have been erected in the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor do not resemble the figure seen on these Mars Ultor coins or on the *Signis Receptis* coins that depict Mars Ultor. For instance, the Algiers relief shows Mars Ultor bearded and armed, holding a shield and a spear while the polychrome mosaic from the Villa Borghese depicts him wearing a golden helmet and holding a lance and a shield. Numismatic representations of Mars Ultor from the first to the third centuries AD portray him in a similar manner to the figures seen on the Algiers relief and the polychrome mosaic from the Villa Borghese. It might be possible to say that the change in the design of the cult statue came after the minting of these Mars Ultor coins. However, considering the great importance of the returned Roman ensigns in the whole Forum Augustum complex, if the cult statue of the temporary Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol or a projected design of the cult statue held an *aquila* and a standard, it is unlikely that the Forum Temple's cult statue would not also hold these *signa*.⁵⁰⁴ As Kraus believes, the figure on these Mars Ultor coins should be interpreted symbolically and should simply allude to the god Mars Ultor.⁵⁰⁵

The triumphal chariot was a non-existent feature of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor. Clearly, it stood outside of the temple in the forum. Furthermore, it seems

⁵⁰³ Compare the figure on these coins to the copy of the cult statue of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor.

⁵⁰⁴ For further reference on the Algiers relief and the polychrome mosaic from the Villa Borghese, see Anderson 1984: 71.

For further reference on the numismatic representations of the figure of Mars Ultor from the 1st-3rd centuries AD, see, for instance, *RIC* 1² 204-205 (Vindex and Galba), 161 (Nero); *RIC* 2: 45 (Vespasian); Strack 1: 216 (Trajan); Cohen 2: Antoninus Pius no.550; Dodd 1911: pl.XII.6 and 7 (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, respectively); *BMCRE* 5: lxxviii (Albinus); *RIC* 4 (i): 213, 276, 289, and 293 (Caracalla); *RIC* 4 (ii): 120 (Severus Alexander) .

⁵⁰⁵ Kraus 1964: 71.

impossible to say that the specific triumphal chariot awarded to Augustus was depicted on these coins. The triumphal chariot is sometimes ornamented, sometimes not. At times, it is seen on a slablike base. The SPQR temple coins do not only differ internally, but also in regards to the other coins portraying a triumphal chariot in Sutherland's Colonia Patricia Group (iii). None of the SPQR temple coins show Victory on the front of the chariot, while the SPQR quadriga and CAESARI AVGVSTO do so.⁵⁰⁶ It simply alluded to the triumphal honours that were awarded to Augustus in 19 BC. The one consistent feature of these coins is the circular form of the temple structures, the importance of which will be discussed below. Thus, the purpose of issuing these coins was to celebrate Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC and to anticipate the *idea* of a temple of Mars Ultor.

4.4.1 Mars Ultor not on the Capitoline

As mentioned in Section 4.1, Dio attributes a temple of Mars Ultor to the Capitol. Rich and Spannagel suggest that a permanent temple of Mars Ultor was originally intended to be built on the Capitol, but that a change in plan to build it in the Forum Augustum only came later. It is not implausible that the original location of the temple of Mars Ultor would have been on the Capitol. There were sacred spaces to Mars inside the pomerium. In fact, there was an archaic shrine to Mars on the Capitol. St. Augustine, however, relates the story that when Tarquin was building his Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Mars, Juventas, and Terminus refused to move to make room for Jupiter.⁵⁰⁷ There was also a votive helmet dedicated to Mars on the Capitol that was struck by lightning in 49 BC.⁵⁰⁸ A *sacrarium* to Mars was located in the Regia.⁵⁰⁹ Furthermore, that Augustus could propose a location inside the *pomerium* for

⁵⁰⁶ RIC I² 48-49.

⁵⁰⁷ *De Civitate Dei* 4.23.

Simpson 1993: 121 says Augustine based his story on his reading of Varro.

⁵⁰⁸ Dio 41.14.2.

⁵⁰⁹ Servius, *ad Aen.* 7.603 and Dio 44.17.2.

his temple to Mars Ultor may be understood by again looking at the Palatine Temple of Apollo. Beard *et al.* say “the location of [this] temple is very striking.”⁵¹⁰ The Temple of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus) was built in the Circus Flaminius. By building his temple to Apollo on the Palatine, Augustus brought this deity into the sacred boundaries of the city. Moreover, by 23 BC, he held proconsular *imperium* and by 19 BC, when he returned from the East, he obtained consular *imperium*. With this power in Augustus’ hands, as Beard et al. write, “...the *pomerium* as a religious boundary ceased to exclude the military.”⁵¹¹

A permanent Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor was, however, never built. This then raises an important question about where the returned standards were stored until the opening of the Forum temple in 2 BC. Two literary passages say these standards were placed in a non-specific temple of Jupiter on the Capitol:

et signa nostro restituit Iovi
derepta Parthorum superbis
[and to our Jove the standards stript
from the proud columns of the Parthians]
(Horace, *Ode* 4.15.6-8)

assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Iovi
[and the Parthian trophies will become used to Latin Jupiter]
(Propertius, *Elegy* 3.4.6)

It is possible that they were placed in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which housed the time-honored *spolia opima*. As mentioned in Chapter 3.2.1, Jupiter Feretrius is associated with Romulus. The first mention of the temple is attested to Livy, who describes Romulus’ triumph over Acron in 1.10. During the Roman victory over the Caeninenses, Romulus slew the enemy commander Acron and captured his armour. He

⁵¹⁰ Beard *et. al* 1998: 198.

⁵¹¹ Beard *et. al* 1998: 198.

thus dedicated these spoils to Jupiter Feretrius as *spolia opima*.⁵¹² However, it is more likely that they were placed in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

4.4.2 Alternate Explanation: The Circular Form of the Temple Structures

The one consistent feature on all these coins is the circular form of the temple structures. As argued above/below, these Mars Ultor coins depict a temple as yet to be built. One would expect a schematized version of a temple to show a rectangular plan, clearly the more common temple structure throughout Greece and certainly in Rome. While it could simply be said that the prototype was a Greek tholos, the portrayal of a round temple here has an even wider significance. The primitive Italic hut was also circular in structure. There was an independent Italic tradition of circular huts and hut-urns. The round form employed on these coins is thus evocative of archaic Rome. Already by the twenties BC, Augustus was promoting the awareness of Rome's origins. For instance, Augustus placed his own *domus* on the Palatine next to the *casa Romuli*, and between 26 BC and 20 BC he erected a replica of this Romulean hut on the Capitoline. As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the Augustus/Numa *asses* of 23 BC clearly identify Augustus with his legendary ancestor, Numa. This archaizing Augustan program can also conceivably be applied to Mars, who was one of the earliest Roman divinities and the father of Romulus.

As Brown noted, "just why a round temple was considered an appropriate form to house the recovered standards is a mystery." He refers to Servius *ad Aeneid* 9.408 who says that only Vesta, Diana, Mercury, and Hercules were divinities for whom circular temples were appropriate.⁵¹³ The three definitions Servius gives for the word

⁵¹² Livy's testimony that Romulus was the first dedicator of *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius is undeniable. Propertius, *Elegy* 4.10, Plutarch, *Romulus* 16, and Ovid, *Fasti* 5.565-6, are just a couple of the sources that are in agreement with Livy.

⁵¹³ Brown 1941: 181.

tholos all pertain to the round form of the roof rather than the form of the whole structure. The central explanation of the tholos, as the highest point of the roof from which offerings/gifts were hung, derives from Varro.⁵¹⁴ In both passages it is clear that there were offerings suspended from the dome.

Several theories as to why this circular structure was used have been put forward, but none has proved convincing enough to receive acceptance. Donaldson suggests the circular form is “a temple within a larger temple.”⁵¹⁵ There is no indication on any of these coins, however, that these structures are baldachinos. What is more, it has been suggested that the numismatic convention for portraying “a temple within a larger temple” usually shows an arched lintel on the temple structure as can be possibly seen on Samian coins showing the Heraion at Samos.⁵¹⁶ There is no suggestion, however, of an arched entablature on any of these Mars Ultor coins.

Smith proposes the circular form is appropriate for housing trophies and refers to the rounded apse of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor. He then, however, correctly rejected his own suggestion by saying that the temple’s apse was not necessarily meant to be a storeroom for trophies, but was developed from the interior apses of the Temple of Venus Victrix and the Temple of Venus Genetrix.⁵¹⁷ These apses rather housed the cult statues of Venus Victrix and Venus Genetrix, respectively. What is more, the apse of the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor is not a true apse, but rather a segmented, polygonal

Servius *ad Aeneid* 9.406-408: Tholos proprie est veluti scutum breve, quod in medio tecto est, in quo trabes coeunt: ad quod dona suspendi consueverant...Alii tholum aedium sacrarum dicunt genus fabricae, ut Vestae et Panthei est. Alii tectum sine parietibus columnis subnixum. Aedes autem rotundas tribus diis dicunt fieri debere, Vestae, Dianae, vel Herculi vel Mercurio

[The dome is unusual, a narrow shield as it were, which is the middle of the roof in which the roof beams meet: at which point votive offerings are accustomed to being suspended...some say that the dome of a sacred building, a kind of skillful building as that Vesta and the Pantheon is. Others say the roof is held up without columns as support walls. Moreover, they say that round temples ought to be consecrated to three deities: Vesta, Diana, and either Hercules or Mercury].

⁵¹⁴ Varro *ap. Non.* 6.2: in tholo sacrarum aedium suspendebantur donaria diis oblate

[in the dome of sacred buildings votive offerings were being suspended, presented to the gods].

⁵¹⁵ Donaldson 1859: 95.

⁵¹⁶ Fig. 122

For further reference, see Drew-Bear 1974.

⁵¹⁷ Smith 1951: 202-204.

apse.⁵¹⁸ Similarly, Schäfer suggests that round temples are appropriate for holding *spolia* and *signa*.⁵¹⁹ However, the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which held the *spolia opima*, and the Temple of Diana, which housed a military trophy, are not round.⁵²⁰

Rich suggests the circular form is related to size. He thinks that because the Capitol was quite crowded by the Augustan age this temple would have had to be small.⁵²¹ This does not mean, however, that the temple would have had to be circular.

One suggestion proposed by Spannagel is that the circular form is related to the cult of Vesta.⁵²² Scholarly tradition links Mars Ultor with Vesta as avengers of both Caesar and Crassus on the basis of four passages of Ovid.⁵²³ This connection, however, is only found in Ovid's works, and in two passages the link is only implicit at best. There have been vague suggestions that the candelabrum on the breastplate of the cult statue of Mars Ultor represents the hearth of Vesta and that there was a partial transfer of the cult of Vesta from the Forum Romanum to the Forum Augustum based on Herz's reading of the word *megaron* (μέγαρον) in Dio 55.10.6 as a cella with a hearth.⁵²⁴ These ideas, however, are purely conjectural.

⁵¹⁸ Fig. 123

Ganzert 2000: 36.

⁵¹⁹ Schäfer 1998: 49-70.

⁵²⁰ Figs. 63 (*RRC* 439) and 2 (*RIC* I² 273)

⁵²¹ Rich 1998: 86.

⁵²² Spannagel 1999: 65; Kajava 2000: 57-58 and 2001: 91.

⁵²³ E.g. Riedl 1989, Herbert-Brown 1994: 95f., Barchiesi 1997, Littlewood 2006: 194f., and Knox 2009: 135f.

A. "Behold! Do you not see that wicked swords are being sharpened? Stop them, I pray, repel the outrage and do not let the flames of Vesta be extinguished by the gore of her priest!" (*Metamorphoses* 15.776-778).

B. "[Caesar] was my priest, the sacrilegious hands with their weapons were aimed at me" (*Fasti* 3.699-700).

C. "If my father and Vesta's priest is the cause for my waging this war and I prepare to avenge both divinities, then stand by me Mars, satiate your sword with profaned blood and may your favor be with the better cause. You will receive a temple and be called Avenger when I am victorious" (*Fasti* 5.573-576).

D. "Why rejoice, Parthian?" said Vesta; "You shall send back the standards and there will be an avenger who will exact punishment for the slaughter of Crassus" (*Fasti* 6.465-468).

⁵²⁴ Herz 1996:289f. Robert discusses a second meaning of *megaron* other than a hall or atrium; that is, that a megaron is an hearth used for chthonic sacrifices (Robert 1939: 210-227). *Megaron* in Dio 55.10.6, however, should refer to the shrine of Mars Ultor.

Siebler suggests that the candelabrum between the two griffins represents the fire of Vesta being defended by two griffins, symbols of vengeance (Siebler 1988: 69.n404).

Another suggestion given by Spannagel is that the circular form is related to the cosmos, on the grounds that Dio 53.27.2 that compares the domed roof of the Pantheon, as rebuilt by Hadrian, to the heavens.⁵²⁵ De Fine Licht suggests that the Pantheon was the physical embodiment of the Roman concept of the cosmos.⁵²⁶ Simon too makes the same suggestion, claiming very briefly that round temples are related to the cosmos and would be fitting for Mars since he is a planetary deity.⁵²⁷ Some ancient authors do associate round temples with the cosmos. Servius explains that round buildings had domes so they “resemble the heavens by their shape.”⁵²⁸ Vitruvius calls a domed ceiling a *caelum*.⁵²⁹ Ovid relates the round form of Vesta’s temple to Archimedes’ globe.⁵³⁰ The two model globes, one a solid model, the other an armillary model, made by Archimedes were brought to Rome after the sack of Syracuse in 212 BC.⁵³¹ Ovid equates Vesta’s temple to the armillary model which Archimedes himself called the model of the cosmos.⁵³² Thus, Vesta’s temple is an *imago mundi*, like Archimedes’ armillary globe which was his abstract image of the universe. Plutarch says that the Temple of Vesta was built as a circle not in imitation of the earth, but of the cosmos.⁵³³ Varro’s garden tholos at Casinum was modeled on Catulus’ temple in the Largo Argentina and had a dome in which Hesperus and Lucifer revolved.⁵³⁴ However, even if circular temple structures with domes did evoke the cosmos to Romans that is not necessarily why a circular form was chosen.

⁵²⁵ Spannagel 1999: 65.

Ammianus Marcellinus compares the Pantheon to a city district “vaulted over in lofty beauty.” (16.10.4).

⁵²⁶ De Fine Licht 1968: 199.

⁵²⁷ Simon 1982.

⁵²⁸ Servius *ad Aen.* 1.105.

⁵²⁹ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 7.3.3 and 8.2.4.

⁵³⁰ *Fasti* 6.277-280.

arte Syracosia suspensus in aere clauso/ stat globus, immeni parva figura poli/ et quantum a summis, tantum secessit ab imis/terra; quod ut fiat, forma rotunda facit./par facies temple...

[There stands a globe hung by Syracusan art in closed air, a small image of the great vault of heaven, and the earth is equidistant from the top and bottom. This was caused by its round shape. The temple’s form is similar...].

⁵³¹ Cicero, *De Republica* 1.21.

⁵³² *Arenarius* 1.4.5

⁵³³ *Numa* 11.

⁵³⁴ Varro, *Rust.* 3.5.17.

Another suggestion made recently by Kuttner is that the circular form on these Mars Ultor coins was inspired by Pompeian style landscape paintings depicting round temples surrounded by porticoes, as in the Oplontis *triclinium*.⁵³⁵ However, it seems unlikely that fictive architectural paintings had inspired the temple shape on these coins.

We need to re-examine the use of round temples in the Hellenistic world as well as Republican Rome. Tholoi originated in the Greek world and became increasingly popular in the fourth century BC. Although traditionally viewed as serving heroic or chthonic cults, tholoi housed many other cultic deities and had numerous other religious and secular functions.⁵³⁶ The Tholos (or Skias) in the Athenian Agora, dated to the fifth century BC, was a secular building employed for the meeting place and banquets of the *Prytaneis*.⁵³⁷ The Tholos at the Sanctuary of Athena Pronoia of Delphi, built c. 380-370 BC, was known as a tholos-treasury for its sculptural program.⁵³⁸ The Tholos at Epidauros, dated c. 370-340 BC, served as a *heroön* to the chthonic deity Aesclepius.

Monopteroi, or round temples which do not have a cella wall (as opposed to tholoi), of the fourth century BC were known to house cult statues. The monopteros of Aphrodite at Knidos dated to c. 360-350 BC housed the famous statue of Aphrodite made by Praxiteles. This temple was most likely the inspiration behind a tradition of numerous Hellenistic and Late Republican round temples dedicated to Aphrodite such as the tholos of Ptolemy IV and Julius Caesar's shrine in his gardens.⁵³⁹ The

⁵³⁵ Kuttner 1998: 106.

⁵³⁶ Pyl 1861 categorizes tholoi as *heroa* and Robert 1939 assigns them as being chthonic in nature. Robert's work has been criticized for his exclusive focus on the chthonic functions of circular temples (e.g. Holland 1948). Roux 1984 and 1992 and Seiler 1986 primarily discuss their secular functions.

⁵³⁷ Thompson 1940.

⁵³⁸ Vitruvius (7.praef.2) states that Theodorus of Phocaea wrote a volume about this tholos, and it is believed that he was its architect.

For further reference on this tholos, see Roux 1992.

⁵³⁹ Kuttner 1998: 105.

monopteros of Lysikrates in Athens, dated to 334 BC, housed a statue of Dionysus also made by Praxiteles.⁵⁴⁰

The Philippeion at Olympia was a victory monument started by Philip II in 338 BC at Olympia after the fall of Greece to essentially house a sculptural display of the Macedonian royal family.⁵⁴¹ It was later finished by Alexander the Great and was a *heroön* which represented the “perpetuity and prosperity of a royal race” related to an architectural form (i.e. the tholos) symbolizing “both fertility and the cult of the dead.”⁵⁴² These chryselephantine portraits of the sculptor Leochares can also be connected to the divine ancestors of the Macedonian royal house – Hercules and Pelops – as the Philippeion was strategically located next to the temple of Pelops. The rotunda of Arsinoë II at Samothrace, built c. 275 BC, was dedicated to the Great Gods. It has been suggested that this tholos not only served cultic purposes (chthonic libations), but also was an assembly hall for assemblies and a reception hall for international ambassadors.⁵⁴³

It can be said that Roman Republican round temples of the second and first centuries BC, although rare, were influenced by these earlier Greek models. In 130 BC a temple dedicated to Hermes and Maia by the Hermaistai was erected in the Agora of the Italians on Delos. It was a tholos-treasury.⁵⁴⁴ Two temples were dedicated to Fortuna. One was the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste built in c. 110-100 BC, and the other was the temple of Fortuna Huiusce Dei in the Largo Argentina dating to c. 90-80 BC. The temple of Fortuna Primigenia is located behind the two hemicycles of the upper Sanctuary. Fortuna here appeared in her role as both an Italic mother goddess and as an oracular goddess. A bronze cult statue from the temple shows Fortuna suckling the infants Jupiter and Juno while a marble statue shows her with

⁵⁴⁰ Roux 1992: 200-202.

⁵⁴¹ Pausanias 5.20.9-10.

⁵⁴² Robert 1939: 404.

⁵⁴³ Seiler 1986: 106.

⁵⁴⁴ Roux 1992: 202.

characteristics of Tyche and Isis, symbolizing her oracular powers.⁵⁴⁵ The temple of Fortuna Huiusce Dei also focused on Fortuna's connection to Tyche as explained by Cicero.⁵⁴⁶ There are three round temples dedicated to Hercules in Rome. The temple of Hercules Musarum was erected in the Circus Flaminius by M. Fulvius Nobilior after 187 BC. It is backed by semicircular exedra on top of which was most likely the sculptural display of the Muses in the manner of classical Greek and Hellenistic exedrae.⁵⁴⁷ Two temples to Hercules Victor are recorded.⁵⁴⁸ The surviving temple, *ad portam Trigemina*, is highly debated in regards to its dedication and date of construction.⁵⁴⁹ Nevertheless, this Round Temple on the Tiber is a "pure product of Greek hands" from its use of Pentelic marble, Attic bases, and Corinthian capitals.⁵⁵⁰ What is more, the discovery of a bothros in the temple's foundation may suggest Hercules' chthonic as well as heroic nature here.⁵⁵¹

Agrippa's Pantheon in the Campus Martius was constructed in 27 BC. A now obsolete interpretation was that the Agrippan structure was an elongated rectangle. It has been demonstrated that the Agrippan Pantheon was a circular structure with an entrance to the north like the existing Pantheon.⁵⁵² The patron deities of this temple were all the gods. It was also connected with the Julian family. Dio specifically mentions the statues of Mars and Venus, the protective deities of the Julian gens, as well as a statue of Divus Julius within the cella of the temple. He also says that statues of Augustus and Agrippa stood in the *pronaos*.⁵⁵³ This was, in essence, a *heroön*. A close parallel that may have directly influenced this structure is the round *heroön* in the

⁵⁴⁵ For further reference on this temple, see Champeaux 1987 and Rakob 1992.

⁵⁴⁶ *Leg.* 2.28

nam valet in omnes dies

[for she is effective on all days].

For further reference on this temple, see Stamper 2005: 75-78.

⁵⁴⁷ For further reference on this temple, see Marabini Moevs 1981.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ser. ad Aen.* 8.363.

⁵⁴⁹ For a concise summary, see Stamper 2005 69-70.

⁵⁵⁰ Stamper 2005: 74.

⁵⁵¹ Robert 1939: 372-3.

⁵⁵² Wilson Jones 2000: 182.

⁵⁵³ Dio 53.27.2-4.

sanctuary of Artemis at Stymphalos which had an elongated rectangular porch.⁵⁵⁴

The eventual temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum embodied many of the religious and secular functions related to the Greek tholos. Mars appeared here as both a heroic war deity and as a fertility deity. To begin with, Mars was also a lustral god. The clearest example for this is that the ceremony of the *lustratio* took place at the *ara Martis* in the Campus Martius.⁵⁵⁵ Incidentally, the censor drove a nail into the temple of Mars Ultor after a *lustratio* every five years. The route of the Salian dance was extended to include the Forum Temple of Mars Ultor. The Salii also held ceremonies and banquets in the temple of Mars Ultor and had a space of their own in the Forum.⁵⁵⁶ The cult statue of Mars Ultor symbolized his dual role as he is depicted both as a warrior and as a fertility god. Cornucopiae are seen on the shoulder flaps and vine leaves decorate the cuirass instead of the usual animals adorning cuirasses on statues of Mars.⁵⁵⁷ What is more, the theme of the future of Rome is evident throughout the complex. It housed the ensigns returned from Parthia, but also became the depository for future ensigns won from an enemy and for the crown and sceptre worn by victorious generals in their triumphal processions. The sculptural galleries in the Forum were clearly a crowning achievement of the complex. This “hall of fame” served as a type of state atrium for Rome. It was also decreed that statues of future *triumphatores* also be placed in the Forum.⁵⁵⁸ Semi-circular exedrae and colonnades extending from the temple exhibited the kings of Rome, members of the Julian *gens*, and Rome’s *summi viri*. These hemicycles recall, for instance, the exedrae at Delphi with its sculptural display of the kings of Argos. The Forum’s statue gallery is

⁵⁵⁴ Thomas 2004: 27.

⁵⁵⁵ This ceremony was a circumambulation of a *suovetaurilia*.
For further reference on Mars as a lustral god, see Rosivach 1983.

⁵⁵⁶ *CIL VI*: 2138.

⁵⁵⁷ Galinsky 1996: 111.

⁵⁵⁸ On the Forum as a “state atrium”, see Favro 2005: 246.
Dio 55.10.3

reminiscent of the Philippeion.⁵⁵⁹ As discussed in Chapter 3.2 on the Augustus/Numa *asses* of 23 BC, the idea of a Roman “hall of fame” was already in an embryonic state as early as the twenties BC. The Forum and its temple also became a grand civic centre. The Senate met in the temple to deliberate about war and the granting of triumphs. Governors took leave to their provinces from the forum and young men assumed the *toga virilis*. However, Roman rectangular temples held many of the same functions as these tholoi. Thus, these multi-purpose functions of tholoi would not have become immediately apparent while viewing these Mars Ultor coins.

Perhaps the most probable explanation for the circular form of the temple structures found on these Mars Ultor coins is that they are derivative of primitive Italic huts. Numerous Iron Age huts and hut-urns were circular in shape. At the time these coins were minted, there was an active interest in recalling these Italic villages of primitive huts. The memory of the *casa Romuli*, for instance, was evoked by its careful preservation and by the works of Augustan authors.

Primitive Italic huts from the ninth and eighth centuries BC in central Italy, including the Palatine, Capitoline, and Forum Romanum, were either circular, oval, or rectangular (with round corners). They were composed of wattle and daub, and the roofs were thatched with straw. Circular huts were primarily employed as single-family residences.⁵⁶⁰ Some of the huts discovered on the Palatine in 1948, dating to the eighth century BC, were oval rectangles or described as oblong in shape, slightly convex with rounded corners.⁵⁶¹ Modern reconstructions, based on these excavations on the south slope of the Palatine are on display at the Palatine Antiquarium and at the Museo della

⁵⁵⁹ The hemicycles of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia and the temple of Hercules Musarum are other exempla.

⁵⁶⁰ Karlsson *et. al* 2001: 451.

⁵⁶¹ Claridge 1998: 125 and Gjerstad 1966: 3.48.

Civiltà.⁵⁶² Hut-urns were models of these dwellings. The majority were circular with conical, thatched roofs. Oval and rectangular huts were also produced.⁵⁶³

The Augustan age propagated the memory of these primitive villages. Vitruvius describes the construction of Italic huts in *De Architectura* 2.1.5. In *Elegy* 2.16.20, Propertius wishes that Augustus would live in a thatched hut. The casa Romuli and the temple of Vesta are by far the most well known survivals of these huts. The Romulean hut is traditionally said to have been built at the top of the *Scalae Caci* on the Palatine.⁵⁶⁴ Post holes near the precinct of the temple of Victory have now identified this structure.⁵⁶⁵ It was consistently maintained, particularly by the pontifices, and became what Edwards describes as a “vivid symbol of the Roman past”.⁵⁶⁶ In Livy 5.38.8, Camillus refers to the hut of Romulus as the *casa illa conditoris nostri* (that house of our founder). In fact, in Ovid’s *Fasti* 3.183-184, it is Mars who points out that Romulus’ house was made of straw and reeds. Augustus’ own *domus* on the Palatine was surrounded by archaic monuments. As already mentioned, the casa Romuli was at the top of the *Scalae Caci*. At the bottom of the Palatine was the *Lupercal* and the *figus Ruminalis*, and the *Roma Quadrata*. Augustus faithfully restored the casa Romuli when it burnt in 38 BC and again in 12 BC. Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 2.1, and Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.651-653, mention a second casa Romuli on the Capitoline, recently constructed. The reduplication of the Palatine hut, most likely occurring between 26 BC and 20 BC, was intended to reinforce the importance of the Capitoline. The temple of Jupiter Feretrius was also recently restored in 31 BC, and the temple of Jupiter Tonans was built in 22 BC. The monuments were meant to symbolize Romulus’

⁵⁶² Figs. 124a-c

⁵⁶³ Karlsson *et. al* 2001: 245.

It should also be noted that the Pergamene Mars Ultor coins show a conical roof.

⁵⁶⁴ Dionysus of Halicarnassus 1.79.11 and Plutarch, *Rom.* 20.4.6.

⁵⁶⁵ Pensabene 1990-91.

⁵⁶⁶ Edwards 1996: 37.

modesty and Rome's humble beginnings.⁵⁶⁷ In *Fasti* 6.265-266, Ovid mentions that the temple of Vesta, established by Numa, was regularly restored to its original appearance.

Mars was inextricably linked to Rome's origins. He is traditionally known as the father of Romulus and Remus. Major developments in his cult took place during the regal period. As mentioned above, Numa established the office of the *flamen* for Mars (alongside those of Jupiter and Quirinus – these three deities make up the archaic triad that was worshipped in early Rome).⁵⁶⁸ The Salii, priests of Mars, were also founded by Numa. There was an archaic shrine of Mars on the Capitol and a *sacrarium* in the Regia. Mars was also the founding deity of the *census*.⁵⁶⁹ It is thus possible to imagine a Capitoline with four interrelated Augustan monuments: the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, a casa Romuli, the temple of Jupiter Tonans, and a temple of Mars Ultor. In fact, these Mars Ultor coins are contemporaneously issued with coins depicting a temple of Jupiter Tonans.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁷ For the Capitoline casa Romuli, see Balland 1984.

⁵⁶⁸ Livy 1.20.

⁵⁶⁹ Cornell 1995: 173-197.

⁵⁷⁰ Fig. 125

*RIC I*² 27.

It should also be noted that the monopteral Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis, built c. 19 BC, was modelled on this planned Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor. Kajava 2000: 50 says “in view of the decisive role of Mars Ultor in the Parthian question, the Athenian monopteros can surely be taken as homage to this god as well” and in 2001:83 that the Athenian monopteros was to recall “the lost standards and even to serve as a temporary pavilion for them (or a more permanent one for [their] copies).”

4.5 “ANTICIPATORY” TYPES

This analysis of the Mars Ultor coins of c. 19 BC to 16 BC demonstrates the emergence of a new category of numismatic typology, that is, types anticipating an accomplishment or event. As has been discussed previously, in the second century BC, following the first stage of Roman coin typology that began in the third century BC with “public” types, a new typological stage of “commemorative” types was developed. These “commemorative” types first memorialized past familial achievements and then later memorialized recent or contemporary achievements.⁵⁷¹ There is indeed a clear Republican coin type already demonstrating this “anticipatory” notion – i.e. the Temple of Clementia Caesaris seen on *denarii* minted in 44 BC, Fig. 116, discussed in Section 4.3. However, the Mars Ultor coins begin to show a more rapid shift in numismatic typology from commemorating an achievement or event to anticipating an achievement or event.

The “vota” reverses may also be considered to be “anticipatory”. These *vota publica suscepta* are concerned with Augustus’ future – his continued safety and health, and his anticipated returns from provincial campaigns. At Colonia Patricia, two “vota” types were issued – one *pro salute* and one *pro salute et reditu* in c. 16 BC in anticipation of Augustus’ continued safety during his Gallic journey of 16 BC as well as his return. “Vota” types are also seen on *aurei* and *denarii* minted in Rome in 16 BC. Another type shows the ritual sacrifice made during *vota publica pro valetudine* of Augustus. Nutton uses the term “beneficial ideology” and Moralee uses “salutary ideology”.⁵⁷² I will, however, also group these coins into this new broader, typological category of “anticipatory” types that is being examined here.

There are seven “vota” types issued between Colonia Patricia and Rome. At Colonia Patricia one reverse type bears the legend IOVI VOT(a) SVSC(epta) PRO

⁵⁷¹ For a concise survey of these developments in Roman coinage, see Alföldi 1956 and Meadows and Williams 2001.

⁵⁷² Nutton 1978: 209-221 and Moralee 2004: 23ff.

SAL(ute) CAES(aris) AVG(usti) SPQR (the Senate and the people of Rome offered public vows to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the safety of Caesar Augustus) in five lines in an oak wreath. Another reverse type depicts Mars standing, helmeted and cloaked, holding a vexillum and a parazonium over his shoulder with the legend VOT(a) P(ublica) SVSC(epta) PRO SAL(ute) ET RED(itu) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) SACR(um) - [the Senate and people] offered public vows to Jupiter Optmius Maximus for the safety and return [of Augustus] with [some type of sacred object]. At Rome, L. Mescinius Rufus issued four “vota” types . As already mentioned in Chapter 3.5-6, two coin types show obverses portraying an *imago clipeata* of Augustus in a laurel wreath with the legend S(enatus) C(onsulto) OB R(em) P(ublicam) CVM SALVT(e) IMP(eratoris) CAESAR(is) AVGVS(ti) CONS(ervatam) - [this shield] was decreed by Senatus Consultum because the Res Publica was saved by Augustus’ safety [because Augustus was healthy], *RIC I*² 357 and Fig. 126c. The reverse of Fig. 126c depicts Mars standing on a pedestal holding a vexillum and a parazonium over his shoulder with the legend SPQR V(ota) P(ublica) S(uscepta) PR(o) S(aluti) ET RED(itu) AVG(usti) - the Senate and the people made public vows for the safety and the return of Augustus. The other “vota” reverse of L. Mescinius Rufus also depicts Mars in the same pose, but the legend reads SPQR V(ota) PR(o) RE(ditu) CAES(aris) - the Senate and the people made public vows for the return of Augustus. Fig. 111a can also be called “anticipatory”. C. Antistius Vetus minted a reverse type depicting a veiled priest holding a patera over a garlanded altar next to which a *victimarius* leads a bull. The reverse legend reads PRO VALETVDINE CAESARIS SPQR ([this sacrifice is being offered] by order of the Senate and the people for the health of Augustus).⁵⁷³

The type minted by C. Antistius Vetus refers to votive games that were held in Rome for Augustus’ health in 16 BC. These games were instituted in 28 BC by a

⁵⁷³ Figs. 126a-d
*RIC I*² 57, 150a, 357, 351-352, and 369.

decree of the Senate. Dio 53.1.4-5 says the games were one of the many honours voted to Octavian after his Actian victory. *Res Gestae* 9.1 and Suetonius, *Augustus* 44.3, and also record the institution of these games. In *Res Gestae* 9.2 Augustus says “also both privately and as a city all the citizens unanimously and continuously offered prayers at shrines for my health.” The priest pictured on C. Antistius Vetus’ coin shows him making a sacrifice at these games. Ryberg calls this scene the earliest example of a “payment of a *votum*.”⁵⁷⁴ He also suggests that this coin’s obverse, a winged bust of Victory, implies that these games were specifically connected to Actium.⁵⁷⁵ Since these games were instituted in the same year in which the Palatine temple of Apollo was dedicated, scholars such as Ryberg are quick to say that Apollo was the deity to whom these games were vowed. This is may be probable, but not a certainty.⁵⁷⁶

These quinquennial games for Augustus’ health are not to be confused with games to Jupiter for Augustus’ safe returns from his provincial campaigns. The first of these types of games was held in 16 BC. These games were voted in 16 BC when Augustus departed Rome for Gaul and were held in 13 BC when he returned. These are the games that the “vota” coins minted by L. Mescinius Rufus in Rome and those issued in Colonia Patricia refer to. These coins all record public vows made to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for Augustus’ safety while he is away from Rome. One of Rufus’ coins explicitly states why his safety and return are highly anticipated – because through him the *Res Publica* (i.e. Rome) is now in a more ample and tranquil state. It may be possible to suggest that the *Fortuna Redux* coins mentioned in Chapter 3.5 have this same connotation. This altar was vowed after Augustus’ return to Rome from the East in 19 BC and was a thank-offering for Augustus’ safe return.

Indeed, such expressions of an “anticipatory” nature regarding a single individual are not found on prior Roman coinage. However, this is not to say that the

⁵⁷⁴ Ryberg 1955: 121.

⁵⁷⁵ Ryberg 1955: 178.

⁵⁷⁶ Hekster and Rich 2006: 165.

concept of these kinds of public vows were completely without precedent. The first of such vows were for Julius Caesar. Dio 44.6.1 states that vows for 44 BC were to be taken annually for Caesar's welfare. *Vota pro salute rei publicae* were made by the new consuls who entered office on January 1st. This included a sacrifice to Jupiter on the Capitol for the completion of the past year and for the fulfillment of what was to come in the new year. Vows were then made for Caesar on the same day – the vow was *pro salute rei publicae et Caesaris*.⁵⁷⁷ Public vows were also taken for some leading Republican leaders' health. For instance, vows were made for Pompey's recovery in 50 BC, though not in Rome, but in all *municipia*.⁵⁷⁸ The first public vows at Rome for an individual's health were made in 44 BC for A. Hirtius.⁵⁷⁹

It should be noted that there are some Hellenistic precedents as well. As discussed in Chapter 2, Hellenistic monarchs often received the epithet *soter* and prayers were made to the gods for their salvation. Republican promagistrates and generals, such as Flamininius and C. Verres also received the epithet *soter*. In the East, for instance, the phrase *vota pro valetudine mea* that Augustus used in *Res Gestae* 9.1 evoked the formula *hyper sôteria*.⁵⁸⁰ One of the coin types of Mescinius Rufus even portrays an *imago clipeata* of Augustus. This recalls the tradition of placing portraits on Macedonian shields as seen the coins of Antigonus Gonatus showing the head of Pan within such a shield that were mentioned earlier in Chapter 3.3.

4.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter examines the coins minted at Pergamum and Spain (at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia) from c. 19 BC to 16 BC. The focus is on the Mars Ultor coins depicting a temple of Mars Ultor. The analysis of this group of coins yields

⁵⁷⁷ Weinstock 1971:217-218.

⁵⁷⁸ Velleius Paterculus 2.48.2.

⁵⁷⁹ Cicero, *Phil.* 7.12

⁵⁸⁰ Moralee 2004: 24-26.

a few results, a couple of which can be thematically linked to those discussed in Chapter 3. In c. 19-16 BC a new category of numismatic typology emerged; that is, types anticipating an accomplishment or event. In the second century BC, following the first stage of Roman coin typology that began in the third century BC with “public” types, a new typological stage of “commemorative” types was developed. These “commemorative” types first memorialized past familial achievements and then later memorialized recent, contemporary achievements.

The Mars Ultor coins of c. 19-16 BC show that there was a subtle shift in numismatic typology from commemorating an achievement or event to anticipating an achievement or event. These coins do not depict an existing temple or a projected design of a temple to be built. They rather express the *idea* of a temple yet to be built for Mars Ultor. The rather curious circular form of the temple structures may best be explained by a comparison to Italic primitive huts. The temple of Mars Ultor was originally meant to be located on the Capitol. The circular form would have evoked an image of archaic Rome, a theme that Augustus was promoting at the time these coins were being minted as seen, for instance, in the Augustus/Numa *asses* of 23 BC. *Vota publica suscepta* are concerned with Augustus’ future – his continued safety and health, and his anticipated returns from provincial campaigns. The “vota” coins may also be considered to be “anticipatory”. They belong to the “epigraphic” group of coin types discussed in Chapter 3.5. One of these types is related to the quinquennial games voted on behalf of Augustus’ health in 16 BC. The other types refer to games voted to Jupiter in anticipation of Augustus’ continued safety during his Gallic journey of 16 BC as well his return. The emphasis on the importance of Augustus’ continued welfare is key here. These types thus anticipate the future rather than commemorate the past.

CHAPTER 5

FROM ARISTOCRATIC LEADERS TO IMPERIAL DYNASTY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The coin types of Lugdunum minted from c. 15 BC to AD 14 are generally described as “severely unadorned”, “stereotyped”, and “unimaginative”.⁵⁸¹ Indeed, from 9-8 BC to AD 14 only seven different reverse types were portrayed on Lugdunese *aurei* and *denarii*.⁵⁸² Nevertheless, the types produced at Lugdunum are extremely important because after 12 BC it was the only mint to issue gold and silver coins until the reign of Gaius in AD 37, and because of the typological development that took place at this mint.⁵⁸³ An extremely specific shift occurred, that is, a shift from Republican “ancestral” types that commemorated deceased members of Roman aristocratic families to types celebrating living members of one particular Roman family, the family of Augustus.⁵⁸⁴ The introduction of living members of the *domus Augusti* into the typological inventory of Roman numismatic iconography was a turning point in Roman coinage. Not only do types related to the *domus Augusti* represent a point of convergence between Roman “mainstream” coinage and Roman “provincial” coinage, but they become a permanent fixture on post-Augustan coinage. Other than the adoption of the portrait of Augustus on “provincial” coins, the *domus Augusti* is the one numismatic theme that is found contemporaneously on Augustan coins catalogued in *RIC I*² and in *RPC I*. Types celebrating the *domus Augusti* become a characteristic of all post-Augustan coinage.

⁵⁸¹ E.g. Sutherland 1951: 67.

⁵⁸² *RIC I*² 198, 200, 204, 205, 219, 220, and 225.

⁵⁸³ E.g. *RIC I*: p. 65-82 and Galinsky 1996: 33.

⁵⁸⁴ Rose 1997: 7 uses the term “prospective” in reference to Augustan familial types as opposed to Republican “retrospective” familial types. However, these Augustan types portray living, current family members as well as at times commemorate their already achieved accomplishments.

5.2 THE END OF THE “FAMILIAL” TYPE: 44–12 BC

As discussed previously, the bulk of Republican coin types from 135 BC onwards are traditionally categorized as “familial” because they commemorate the deeds of the ancestors of the Roman moneyers.⁵⁸⁵ From the time of Sulla to c. 32 BC, “personal” types referring to living leading figures, such as Pompey, Caesar, Antony, Octavian, were also introduced.

There was a slow, but steady decline of Roman moneyers’ “familial-ancestral” types from 44 BC onwards with earlier roots. The “ancestral” motifs and symbols of personal exploit or office that had marked Roman coinage from the late second century BC began to be accompanied from the eighties BC onwards by generic themes of a patriotic nature with Roma, Minerva, and Victory at the forefront. For instance, the coins issued in 86 BC by Gargonius, Vergilius, and Ogulnius portray Veiovis, as do coins minted in 85 BC by L. Bursio and M. Fonteius, as well as the issue of C. Licinius Macer in 84 BC.⁵⁸⁶ The college of 46 BC, including M. Cordius, T. Carisius, and C. Considius Paetus, portray Minerva, Roma, and Victory.⁵⁸⁷ The college of 45 BC, including L. Papius Celsus, L. Palicanus, and L. Valerius Acisculus, depict Victory as well as abstract personifications of Triumphus, Libertas, Honos, and Felicitas.⁵⁸⁸ Of the moneyers of 44 BC, Buca and Mettius display Victory as well as abstract personifications and symbols of Pax: clasped hands and a caduceus.⁵⁸⁹ Of the moneyers of 42 BC, P. Clodius and C. Vibius Varus show Apollo, P. Clodius and Mussidius Longus show Sol, Vibius Varus shows Roma and Minerva, and abstract

⁵⁸⁵ Alföldi 1956: 72; *RRC*: 731-732, and Meadows and Williams 2001.

⁵⁸⁶ *RRC* 350a, 352, 353, and 354.

⁵⁸⁷ *RRC* Minerva (463/2 and 465/5), Roma (464/ 3 and 5), and Victory (464/4 and 5, and 465/7).

⁵⁸⁸ *RRC* Victory (472/3, 473/3, and 474/6); personifications (472/1 and 473/1-3).

⁵⁸⁹ *RRC* Victory (480/23 and 480/25); symbols of Pax (480/24 and 480/27).

personifications of Concordia and Nemesis are portrayed by Mussidius and Vibius Varus.⁵⁹⁰

As already mentioned, it is common knowledge that the first portrait of a living personage on Roman coinage was issued by the Roman mint in 44 BC, the obverse portrait of Julius Caesar with one invariable reverse type: Venus holding a spear and Victory.⁵⁹¹ However, this had no immediate followers. Each of the four moneyers of 42 BC minted five similar types for each of the three triumvirs – for instance, L. Mussidius Longus issued a reverse depicting Mars standing on a shield for Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus.⁵⁹² Despite these intrusions into their coin series, the moneyers of 44 and 42 BC were able to continue minting types of family ancestry as well as abstract symbols and personifications. None of the moneyers of 43 BC issued an obverse portrait of a living personage.⁵⁹³

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, this slow but steady shift in the coin typology of Roman moneyers changed rapidly in the period from 23 BC to 16 BC. The Augustus/Numa *asses* of 23 BC employ a common “Republican” motif of the portrayal of a legendary ancestor who could be attributed to the moneyer, Calpurnius Piso, but also to Augustus since the Julian *gens* claimed descent from Ancus Marcius.⁵⁹⁴ The college of P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Aquillius Florus, and M. Durmius minted *aurei* and *denarii* in 19 BC. The types issued in this group of coinage are generally referred to as “Republican” since half of the coin types have obverses portraying deities following Republican tradition and the other half, which depict the obverse portrait of Augustus, have reverses showing “family” types.⁵⁹⁵ However, these reverse types that

⁵⁹⁰ *RRC* Apollo (494/23 and 34), Sol (494/21 and 43), Roma and Minerva (494/35 and 37-8), and abstract personifications (494/41-4 and 34).

⁵⁹¹ Fig. 31d

RRC 480.

⁵⁹² Fig. 31e

RRC 494.

⁵⁹³ *RRC* 485, 486, and 487.

⁵⁹⁴ See Chapter 3.2.

⁵⁹⁵ See Chapter 3.3.

have been deemed “familial” are rather representations of Greek “heroic” myth and seem to have been influenced by Hellenistic artistic media. The only types produced by this college that are definitely “familial” are those of L. Aquillius Florus whose choice of Virtus on the obverse of one coin and a warrior raising a personification of Sicily on the reverse of another coin copy a coin type of Mn. Aquillius from 71 BC.⁵⁹⁶ The obverse types of Q. Rustius, dated to 18 BC, depicting opposing or jugate heads of Fortuna Victrix and Fortuna Felix, recall the home of the moneyer’s *gens*, Antium, in that the cult of these two goddesses was located there.⁵⁹⁷ In 17 BC no “familial” types were issued, and the focus was solely on the *Ludi Saeculares*. In 16 BC only two deities, Venus and Victory, appear on the obverses. All other obverses bear the portrait of Augustus or are explicitly related to him. Only the reverse type of C. Antistius Vetus that portrays two veiled priests sacrificing is “familial” – it recalls a famous treaty between Rome and Gabii, the home of the moneyer’s *gens*.⁵⁹⁸ The only invariable personal element that remains down to 12 BC on gold and silver coins, and down to 3 BC on bronze coins, is the legend bearing the moneyer’s name.

5.3 “DYNASTIC” TYPES

Another development in the pre-Augustan phase was the representation of the contemporary political alliances of the “dynasts”. Both Octavian and Antony issued coins with the other’s portrait. Antony also issued coins depicting Octavia and later Cleopatra.⁵⁹⁹ One of the obverse types found in his series of “fleet” coinage in 38 BC portrays the joint heads of Antony and Octavian facing a bust of Octavia.⁶⁰⁰ An Antonian coin type from 34 BC depicts an obverse portrait of Antony and a reverse

⁵⁹⁶ *RIC I*² 301, 310 and *RRC* 401.

⁵⁹⁷ Fig. 110

*RIC I*² 321-322.

⁵⁹⁸ *RIC I*² 363.

⁵⁹⁹ E.g. *RRC* 527 and 543.

⁶⁰⁰ Fig. 127

RPC I: 1454.

portrait of his son, M. Antonius Antyllus. Only two earlier Roman coins show a living father and sons: Marius and then Pompey were depicted riding in quadrigas with their sons.⁶⁰¹

It should be noted, following Newman's recent observations, that the portrayal of Antony on Octavianic coins and vice versa, which on the face of it advertises their unity, in fact reveals deliberate signs of rivalry in the omission of religious symbols and titles.⁶⁰² For instance, an Octavianic *aureus* dated to late 43 BC bears an obverse portrait of Octavian with the legend C CAESAR IMP III VIR R P C PONT AVG and a reverse portrait of Antony with the legend M ANTONIVS IMP III VIR R P C AVG. Octavian's superiority is subtly implied by the inclusion of both his priestly titles. Antony contemporaneously minted two coin types. On the first, the obverse portrays Antony with the legend M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C and a lituus while the reverse shows Octavian with the legend C CAES III VIR R P C without a lituus. On the second, the obverse is the same as the preceding while the reverse depicts Lepidus with the legend M LEPIDVS III VIR R P C and a lituus.⁶⁰³ Thus, these issues advertise both rivalry and unity. Though these types represent "dynasts", they are not "dynastic" in the sense of promoting a family succession.

Some Gallic coins show Agrippa as an equal colleague of Augustus. While there is no identifying legend for Agrippa on these bronzes, the circulation of these coins in Gaul long after the death of Agrippa and the janiform obverse portrait of Augustus and Agrippa express Agrippa's continued importance during the age of Augustus. Given Agrippa's activities in Gaul, such as his governorship of Transalpine Gaul and his possible patronage of Nemausus, these coins widely advertise the collegiality that existed between Agrippa and Augustus.

⁶⁰¹ *RRC* 541, 326, and 402.

⁶⁰² Newman 1990.

⁶⁰³ *RRC* 493, 492/1 and 492/2, respectively.

The lituus later became an important and common symbol on Augustan "provincial" coinage. See Burnett 2011: 14.

Dupondii from Arausio minted in 30-29 BC depict bare heads of Octavian, to the right, and Agrippa, to the left, on the obverse with the legend IMP DIVI F and a prow with superstructure on the reverse.⁶⁰⁴ There are three series of *dupondii* minted at Nemausus that depict obverse types of Augustus and Agrippa back to back. The first series, dated from 28-27 BC to 9 BC, depicts the heads of Agrippa, wearing a combined rostral crown and laurel wreath, and Octavian/Augustus, bare, back to back on the obverse with the legend IMP DIVI F and a chained crocodile and a palm shoot on top of which is a wreath with two loose ends on the reverse with the legend COL(onia) NEM(ausus). The second series of these Nemausan *dupondii*, minted from 8 BC to 3 BC, portrays the same obverse and reverse types and legends as the first series except that Augustus wears an oak wreath. The final series, minted from AD 10-14 BC again depicts the same obverse type and reverse type and legend except that Augustus wears a laurel wreath and the obverse also bears the legend P(ater) P(atriciae).⁶⁰⁵

The fact that Agrippa is seen here bare-headed rather than wearing a rostral crown and a laurel wreath as he does on similar coins minted in Nemausus suggests that a date of 30-29 BC is preferable to one of 28 BC.⁶⁰⁶ Sutherland dates the first group of the Nemausan bronzes to c. 20 BC. However, an earlier date seems more likely, coinciding with the Octavianic coins of 28 BC minted in the East depicting a crocodile with the legend AEGVPTO CAPTA.⁶⁰⁷ A majority of scholars, including Giard, Roddaz, and Veyrac, prefer this dating.⁶⁰⁸

Agrippa became the governor of Transalpine Gaul in 39 BC. In 38 BC, he minted three Gallic coin types with obverses depicting Caesar, facing heads of Caesar

⁶⁰⁴ *RPC I*: 533.

⁶⁰⁵ Figs. 128a-c
*RIC I*² 154-161.

⁶⁰⁶ *RPC I*: 533 and *RIC I*² 154f.

⁶⁰⁷ Fig. 14.

*RIC I*² 275a.

⁶⁰⁸ E.g. Giard 1967, Roddaz 1984, *RPC I*: 522, and Veyrac 1998.
See also Besombes and Barrandon 2001.

and Octavian, and Octavian, all with the same reverse type bearing only the legend M AGRIPPA COS DESIG.⁶⁰⁹ He settled many veterans who had fought at Naulochus and Actium in Nemausus, a Roman colony founded in 45 or 44 BC. It is possible that Agrippa was the patron of Nemausus as his son Gaius later was. The famous Nemausan temple, the Maison Carrée, was built by Agrippa, and numerous other Nemausan building projects are attributed to him.⁶¹⁰ It has even suggested that the legend P P on third series of the Nemausan bronzes is an abbreviation for *Patronus Parens* or *Patroni Parentes*.⁶¹¹ However, the legend P P is more to represent Augustus' title of Pater Patriae. We may compare the inscription on an altar from Narbo dated to AD 12-13 reads *divi f. Augusto p(ater) p(atriae)*.⁶¹² Thus, Agrippa's role in Gaul apparently led to a continued circulation of these Nemausan bronzes long after his death.

The janiform portrait of Augustus and Agrippa recalls the standard Republican *as* type depicting Janus on the obverse and a prow on the reverse that was introduced as early as 225 BC.⁶¹³ The portrayal of *Janus bifrons* is related to the Dioscuri, and so, to the theme of twinning. Augustus and Agrippa were the same age.⁶¹⁴ In 28 BC, when the first series of Nemausan *dupondii* began to be minted, Agrippa was consul together with Octavian and shared the fasces. They also both celebrated the games voted by the Senate in honour of the Actian victory.⁶¹⁵ The collegiality that existed between them was compared to the joint rule once shared between Romulus and Remus.⁶¹⁶ Both of

⁶⁰⁹ Fig. 62b

RRC 534.

⁶¹⁰ Reinhold 1933: 91 and Roddaz 1984: 400-1.

⁶¹¹ Saussaye 1842 and Blanchet 1940.

⁶¹² *ILS* 112.

⁶¹³ Fig. 129

RRC 36/1.

⁶¹⁴ Pliny, *NH* 8.46.

⁶¹⁵ Dio 53.1-4.

⁶¹⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.292: *Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt* [Quirinus with his brother Remus will give laws] is explained as follows by:

Servius *ad Aen.* 1.292: *Vera tamen hoc habet ratio, Quirinum Augustum esse, Remum vero pro positum qui filiam Augusti duxit uxorem et cum eo pariter tractavit*

[However, the true interpretation is that Quirinus is Augustus and Agrippa is Remus who took Augustus' daughter as a wife and governed equally].

these pairs lived on the Palatine: Agrippa lived in Augustus' house after 25 BC just as Romulus and Remus grew up together in Faustulus' cottage.⁶¹⁷ In 16 BC Augustus rebuilt the temple of Quirinus. Two seated figures, one on the far left and one on the far right, are seen on the pediment. Two acts of augury are taking place at the same time. Quirinus is to the left and Remus to the right. The duality associated with this iconographical scheme is also related to another pair – Tiberius and Drusus – who were responsible for the gladiatorial shows associated with the temple's dedication.⁶¹⁸

The use of Janus thus expresses this duality – or even twining – that existed between Augustus and Agrippa. What is remarkable is that later “pairs” of the imperial family adopt similar typology. Gaius and Lucius are later portrayed as the Dioscuri on the *Principes Iuventutis* issue of Lugdunum. *Sestertii* minted at Rome in AD 23 portray the twin sons of Drusus Caesar.⁶¹⁹ It is often ignored in scholarship that this trend in Roman “imperial” coinage began with these Gallic coins portraying Octavian/Augustus and Agrippa.⁶²⁰

5.4 THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY ON THE AUREI AND DENarii OF 15-12 BC

The *aurei* and *denarii* minted at Lugdunum in 15-12 BC and those produced at Rome in 13-12 BC are notable for their slow, yet visible shift in typology. While most coins still focused primarily on Augustus, some coins switched focus to the living members of the Augustan family. Tiberius and Drusus, Augustus' stepsons, are seen on coins from Lugdunum. Agrippa, who married Julia in 21 BC, and Julia appear on coins from Rome. At Lugdunum, three of the six reverse types minted between 15 BC and 10

Servius' chronology is erroneous. Agrippa married Julia in 21 BC and the first book of the *Aeneid* was composed around 28-27 BC. The reason Servius gave for Agrippa's importance is thus unjustified; nevertheless, the attribution of Quirinus-Remus to Augustus-Agrippa stands in regard to the events of 28-27 BC (cf. Dio 53.1-4).

⁶¹⁷ Dio 53.27.5.

⁶¹⁸ Dio 54.19.5

For further reference on this temple, see Wiseman 1995: 146-148.

⁶¹⁹ Section 5.5 and e.g. *RIC I*²: Tiberius 42.

⁶²⁰ E.g. Champlin 2011 and Pollini 2012: 412-434.

BC depict Apollo and Diana, patron deities of Augustus. Their reverse legends range from IMP X (15-13 BC) to IMP XII (11-10 BC).⁶²¹ Another denarius type of 12 BC (IMP XI) portrays a Capricorn holding a globe.⁶²² However, two other reverses portray Augustus, seated on a curule chair, receiving a laurel branch from a soldier(s).⁶²³ The first shows a soldier, with a parazonium, offering a branch; the second shows two soldiers each with a parazonium and each offering a branch. The soldier of the first type is commonly taken to be Drusus, and the two soldiers to be Drusus and Tiberius. Modern scholarship assumes that Augustus and contemporary artistic circles deliberately avoided celebrating Tiberius' accomplishments.⁶²⁴ However, Tiberius was the senior of the pair, and was entrusted with the more important commands. Horace's *Ode* 4.4, often called the Drusus Ode because it celebrates Drusus' Rhaetian victories, frames them in the general praise of the Claudii Neroni.⁶²⁵ The type portraying just one soldier is thus more likely to be Tiberius.⁶²⁶ Not only are these the first reverse types to show Augustus with living members of his family, but they are the first reverses to show Augustus accepting a victory gained by a subordinate. After Balbus' triumph of 19 BC, no "private" commanders were awarded a triumph in their own right, but only triumphal honours.⁶²⁷ The numismatic precedent for this image is clearly the coin of Faustus minted in 56 BC depicting Sulla, seated on a curule chair, receiving a laurel branch from Bocchus.⁶²⁸

The last series of gold and silver coins minted at Rome during the reign of Augustus was produced in 13-12 BC. Two colleges of three moneyers each issued a

⁶²¹ *RIC I*²: 52-54. For a discussion of the Apollo and butting bull types, see Chapter 3.4.

⁶²² *RIC I*² 174.

⁶²³ Figs. 130a and b.

*RIC I*² 162a-165b.

For a concise summary on scholarship regarding these two coin types, see Kuttner 1995:186-190.

⁶²⁴ E.g. *CBN I* and Gross 1985.

For a concise summary of modern views, see Kuttner 1995: 172-177.

⁶²⁵ Horace, *Ode* 4.4.27-8, 37.

⁶²⁶ For a concise summary of modern views, see Kuttner 1995: 172-177.

⁶²⁷ Eck 1984.

⁶²⁸ *RRC* 426.

total of nineteen reverse types. Half of the types are directly or indirectly related to the family of Augustus. The beginning of these two series is attributed to 13 BC, the year when Augustus and Agrippa renewed their tribunician powers and grants of *maius imperium proconsulare* for five years, and, as mentioned in Chapter 3.6, the order of the two colleges has been established by Mattingly and Sutherland: C. Marius Tro, C. Sulpicius Platorinus and C. Antistius Reginus minted in 13 BC, while Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, L. Lentulus, and L. Caninius Gallus minted in 12 BC.⁶²⁹

Fullerton has justifiably claimed that “the glorification of the *domus Augusti* was not simply a part of the program, but was in fact its unifying theme.”⁶³⁰ However, he does not emphasize the typological revolution that occurred in 13-12 BC. Nor does he draw attention to the “Republican” numismatic tradition. He writes “it is not surprising that the types dealing with the succession should therefore focus on the *domus Augusti*. It is more noteworthy that the other themes in the program – Pax Augusta and Augustus as pontifex maximus – did so as well.”⁶³¹ Two problems arise from this reading of these coins. First, Fullerton makes the assumption that a policy of succession was already open in 13-12 BC. Second, the degree of importance he attaches to these three themes should be re-evaluated. It is more noteworthy that types depicting or associated with living members of the Augustan family dominate the coins produced by these two colleges.

There are also striking novelties on some of the coins issued by these colleges. Agrippa is depicted as Augustus’ partner in power. The heads of Augustus and Agrippa appear as the two obverse/reverse types of C. Sulpicius Platorinus in 13 BC and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus in 12 BC. Platorinus minted one coin type with an obverse portraying a bare-headed Augustus and a reverse depicting a bare-headed Agrippa, and another coin type with an oak-wreathed Augustus on the obverse and Agrippa, wearing

⁶²⁹ *BMCRE I*: 100-133 and *RIC I*² 397-419.

⁶³⁰ Fullerton 1985: 474.

⁶³¹ Fullerton 1985: 480.

a combined mural and rostral crown, on the reverse. Lentulus copied the latter type of Platorinus.⁶³² Augustus and Agrippa are also seen together on reverse types of C. Marius Tro and Platorinus in 13 BC. The coin of C. Marius Tro shows Augustus laureate and Agrippa, wearing a combined mural and naval crown, both togate, standing and holding a scroll, with a *capsa* at their feet.⁶³³ This refers to their *lectio* of recruits into the Senate in 13 BC.⁶³⁴ The reverse of Platorinus portrays Augustus and Agrippa, both bare-headed and togate, seated on a *bisellium* on a platform decorated with rostra; on the left, there is an upright staff or spear.⁶³⁵

A coin of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus depicts an equestrian statue of Agrippa, helmeted and holding a trophy, on a pedestal ornamented with two prows.⁶³⁶ Spannagel suggests that this type does not show Agrippa, but is rather a “familial” type. He says that this statue does not resemble Augustus’ contemporaneous equestrian statues, that this trophy resembles *spolia opima*, and that Lentulus here is recalling an ancestor of his who was a winner of *spolia opima* by comparing it to the reverse type of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus depicting Marcellus carrying *spolia opima* in front of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, Fig. 63. However, the trophy on Cossus Lentulus’ coin is more probably just a military trophy and the naval prows clearly relate to his two naval victories of Naulochus and Actium. Although Augustus is not portrayed helmeted or carrying a trophy on his equestrian statues, this is not to say that other equestrian figures could not be helmeted or carry a trophy. For instance, the equestrian statue of M. Lepidus, depicted on a coin in 58 BC, shows him carrying a trophy.⁶³⁷

⁶³² Figs. 131a and b
*RIC I*² 408-409 and. 414.

⁶³³ Fig. 132a
*RIC I*² 397.

⁶³⁴ Dio 54.26.4.

⁶³⁵ Fig. 132b
*RIC I*² 406

⁶³⁶ Fig. 133
*RIC I*² 412.

⁶³⁷ Spannagel 1999: 132-161.
RRC 419/1a.

Scholars disagree about the reverse type of C. Marius Tro depicting a female head, with the *corona civica* above it, between two male heads.⁶³⁸ The general consensus is that the female is Julia with her two sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar.⁶³⁹ Scholars tend to interpret this coin as an advertisement of Augustus' intention to establish a monarchic succession. Sutherland, for instance, writes: "at last the dynastic structure stood fully revealed."⁶⁴⁰ It is more likely, however, as first suggested by Laffranchi and taken up by Rose, that the males flanking Julia are Augustus and Agrippa.⁶⁴¹ The main message of the coin series of 13-12 BC is the solidarity between Augustus and Agrippa. With the image of Augustus' daughter and since 21 BC, Agrippa's wife, the existence of a familial bond is advertised. As discussed earlier, this image recalls the issues depicting the heads of Octavian and Antony together with Octavia and has no specific connotation of "succession".⁶⁴² Here, however, rather than the subtle slights that were made in the employment of symbols and legends on the Octavianic and Antonian coins, the *corona civica* unites all three heads, even though Agrippa's position was in reality subordinate to that of Augustus.

A reverse of L. Caninius Gallus portrays an empty *bisellium* with a staff on the right and bears the legend TR POT. Many scholars assume that, because the *bisellium* is empty, this type thus refers to the death of Agrippa.⁶⁴³ However, it is simply an image representing a symbol of Augustus' and Agrippa's renewed tribunician power of 13 BC. The representation of an empty chair is in fact a common motif on Caesarian coins. For instance, the empty curule chair on reverse types of C. Considius Paetus and Lollius Palicanus refers to the privilege accorded to Caesar after his victory at Thapsus

⁶³⁸ Fig. 134

*RIC I*² 404.

⁶³⁹ E.g. *BMCRE I*: 108 and *RIC I*² 404.

⁶⁴⁰ Sutherland 1951: 58.

⁶⁴¹ Laffranchi 1918: 88n.2 and Rose 1997: 14-15

⁶⁴² See Section 5.3.

⁶⁴³ Fig. 135

*RIC I*² 417.

E.g. Mattingly (*BMCRE I*: cviii).

in 46 BC to sit on a curule chair between the consuls.⁶⁴⁴ This last type implicitly honours Agrippa as well as Augustus.

Thus, the Lugdunese coins of 15-12 BC depicting Drusus and Tiberius and the coins of 13-12 BC minted at Rome that portray Agrippa and Julia show that a clear shift in coin typology was under way. The accomplishments of Augustus' living family members now became the focus of some types.

5.5 THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY ON THE AUREI AND DENarii OF 8 BC-AD 14

Only three reverse types of gold and silver minted at Lugdunum from 8 BC to AD 14 do not portray members of the *domus Augusti*. The first again portrays Diana with the legend SICIL and the second depicts Victory seated on a globe.⁶⁴⁵ The third depicts Augustus, togate and seated on a platform, receiving an infant from a Germanic barbarian with the legend IMP XIII (8 BC).⁶⁴⁶ However, although this latter type does not portray members of the *domus Augusti*, it too alludes to Drusus and Tiberius' German campaigns, like the earlier Lugdunese coins which actually depicted Tiberius and Drusus with Augustus, Figs. 130a and b.

Scholars disagree about the significance of the reverse type depicting Gaius Caesar on horseback, holding reins in his right hand and a shield and sword in his left, with three battle standards behind him and the legend C CAES AVGVS F.⁶⁴⁷ The dates proposed include 8-6 BC, 5-3 BC, and 2 BC. The significance varies from Gaius taking part in the military exercises of the Rhine legions to his prospective Parthian campaign

⁶⁴⁴ *RRC* 465/1a and 473/2a-d.

⁶⁴⁵ *RIC I*² 204 and 202.

⁶⁴⁶ Fig. 136

*RIC I*² 200-201b.

For a concise summary on the scholarship related to this coin type, see Kuttner 1995: 108-112.

⁶⁴⁷ Fig. 137

*RIC I*² 198-199.

in 2 BC.⁶⁴⁸ Pollini has correctly identified the item worn around Gaius' neck on these issues as a bulla. It was customary for a boy to wear the bulla until he assumed the *toga virilis*, which Gaius assumed in 5 BC when he became *principes iuventutis*. These coins must therefore antedate 5 BC and most likely celebrate Gaius' participation in the exercises of the Rhine legions. The most important feature of this coin, however, is that it is the first to explicitly identify a figure on a coin as a member of the *domus Augusti*.

Aurei and *denarii* depicting both Gaius and Lucius were produced in great quantity and have been the cause of much scholarly debate. These coins depict Augustus laureate on the obverse with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE, and Gaius and Lucius standing togate, each resting a hand on a shield, with a spear behind it, and above them, a simpulum and a lituus, with the legend C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT.⁶⁴⁹ At first glance, these coins mark the appointment of Gaius and Lucius as *principes iuventutis* in 5 BC, the year in which Gaius was also consul designate. However, these coins clearly cannot predate 2 BC, when Augustus received his title of Pater Patriae. It is the duration of the circulation of this type and the meaning of the placement of the priestly symbols and the addition of an X in the reverse field that is debated. Mattingly, for instance, has suggested that these coins were issued from 2 BC to AD 11 based on the variety found on the obverse portraiture.⁶⁵⁰ *Denarii*, but not *aurei*, add an X between Gaius and Lucius and below their priestly symbols. *Denarii* with an added X are also seen with the position of Gaius and Lucius' priestly symbols switched. It has been also suggested that this switch is related to Gaius' death since showing his corresponding, current

⁶⁴⁸ For the various dates – 8 BC (*RIC I*² 198-199), 5 BC (*BMCR* 2: p.443), and 2 BC (Romer 1978). For its significance, see Pollini 1985 for Gaius participating in the Rhine legions and Romer 1978 for Gaius' Parthian campaign.

⁶⁴⁹ Figs. 138a-c

*RIC I*² 207f.

⁶⁵⁰ *BMCRE I*: cxiv.

Many scholars, such as Levick 1982:107, use Mattingly's dating to support their view that Tiberius was still not favoured and that these coins were kept in circulation as a reminder of Augustus' favoured sons.

priesthood was no longer imperative. However, this is not a necessary conclusion, and the duration of the production of these coins does not have to be stretched out: they can more likely be dated from 2 BC to AD 4 (when Tiberius was adopted) or AD 9 (when bronze coins from Lugdunum begin to portray the head of Tiberius as an obverse type). What is more, the stance of the figures of Gaius and Lucius is reminiscent of the Dioscuri. First, they particularly recall the pose of the Dioscuri seen on a *denarius* of L. Memmius from 109-108 BC.⁶⁵¹ As discussed earlier, the coins of Nemausus depicting the janiform head of Augustus and Agrippa recall the Republican *asses* that invariably portray the head of Janus on the obverse. Thus, it may be noted that these Augustan types evoke two of the most standard and common Republican types: the Janus *as* type and the Dioscuri *denarius* type. Second, they may evoke the deification of the Dioscuri. Lucius died in AD 2. Later, Tiberius imagines himself and his dead brother Drusus as the Dioscuri.⁶⁵²

It is remarkable that the coin types minted after the Gaius and Lucius *aurei* and *denarii* receive almost no mention at all in scholarship. These types are either completely ignored or are written off as an afterthought in surveys on Augustan culture and art.⁶⁵³ Moreover, it is only the three gold and silver reverse types dated to AD 13-14 that are accounted for. One of these types depicts Tiberius, laureate, standing in a quadriga and holding a laurel branch and an eagle-tipped sceptre with the legend TI CAESAR AVG F TR POT XV. The second type shows a bare head of Tiberius also with the legend TI CAESAR AVG TR POT XV.⁶⁵⁴ The third type shows a draped female figure, commonly taken to be Livia (although she is not named), seated, holding

⁶⁵¹ Fig. 139

RRC 304. See also *RRC* 515/2.

⁶⁵² For Gaius and Lucius as the Dioscuri, see Poulsen 1991 and for Tiberius and Drusus as the Dioscuri see Champlin 2011 and Pollini 2012: 412-454.

⁶⁵³ Missing – e.g., Burnett and Walker 1981b, Zanker 1988, and Galinsky 1996. Brief mention – e.g. Gross 1985: 44.

⁶⁵⁴ Figs. 140 and 141

*RIC I*² 221-226.

a vertical sceptre and a branch with the legend PONTIF MAXIM.⁶⁵⁵ However, there are other coin types that portray Tiberius. The head of Tiberius appears either bare headed or laureate as one of the two obverse types of Lugdunese *sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*, and *semisses* (minted between AD 9-14) that depict the altar of Lugdunum as a reverse type. The head of Tiberius is also seen as an obverse type on *asses* minted at Rome in AD 10-11. These obverse types will be discussed in length in Section 5.7.

5.6 MEMBERS OF THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY ON COINS OF THE PROVINCES

The introduction of living members of the Augustan family into the typological inventory of Roman “mainstream” coins and Roman “provincial” coinage presents a paradox. While it is generally stated that Roman “provincial” coins imitate or are developed from Roman “Republican” and “imperial” coins, such as the increase in obverse types bearing the portrait of Augustus as well as the increase in identifying names and titulatures accompanying these portraits of Augustus, members of the *domus Augusti* appear much earlier and in greater bulk on Augustan “provincial” coins than they do on Augustan “mainstream” coins.⁶⁵⁶ Strangely, this trend has received little attention in scholarship.⁶⁵⁷

Members of the Augustan family more often than not appear on the obverses and are generally accompanied by an identifying name and/or title on “provincial” coins. As discussed previously, until the time Agrippa was seen on multiple coin types at Rome in 13-12 BC, only three other types depicted members of the *domus Augusti* on “mainstream” coinage. *Dupondii* from Nemausus minted from 28 BC onwards depict

⁶⁵⁵ Fig. 142

*RIC I*² 219-220.

⁶⁵⁶ General statements about how Roman “provincial” coinage follow trends of Roman “Republican” and “imperial” coins can be found in Butcher 1988, *RPC I*, Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett 2005 and Burnett 2011. Burnett’s 2011 article focuses on the increase of names and titles as well as imperial portraiture and provides extremely useful tables supporting these trends.

⁶⁵⁷ For instance, in his section on imperial portraiture, Burnett only provides two tables: (1) portraits of Roman rulers on “provincial” coins before Actium and (2) non-imperial portraits on “provincial” coins. He does not, however, include a specific list of coins for members of the *domus Augusti* that were minted during Augustus’ lifetime 2011: 21-22.

the janiform obverse portrait of Octavian/Augustus and Agrippa.⁶⁵⁸ Two Lugdunese types of 15-13 BC depict Tiberius and Drusus. However, by 12 BC, Agrippa, Livia, Marcellus, Julia, Gaius, and Lucius have already been depicted on numerous “provincial” coins. Tiberius is seen as early as 6-5 BC. Agrippa Postumus, Germanicus, and Tiberius’ son, Drusus, also make an appearance. They are often seen on obverses and are explicitly named by a legend. On “mainstream” coinage, it is not until 8 BC that Gaius Caesar is explicitly named by an accompanying legend as a member of the *domus Augusti* and not until AD 9 that Tiberius appears on the obverses of bronze coins in Lugdunum and in AD 10-11 on the obverses of *asses* in Rome. The addition of members of the *domus Augusti* into the typology of Roman “mainstream” coins thus encompasses an already evolving and open phenomenon of “provincial” coins.

One method of examining this development of Roman coinage is to create a table comparing the members of the Augustan family on coins in the western and eastern provinces. The questions that are to be examined are: (1) when was the coin issued? (2) which familial member(s) appeared on it? (3) where was the coin minted? (4) did the familial member(s) appear on the obverse or reverse? (5) is there a name and/or title identifying the familial member(s)? This table will show that members of the Augustan family and their identifying legends (names and/or titles) appear earlier and in greater bulk on “provincial” coinage than on “mainstream” coinage.⁶⁵⁹

5.6.1 The Augustan Family on Western “Provincial” Coinages

Male members of the Augustan family appear on “provincial” coins in Spain and in Africa.⁶⁶⁰ As *patroni* of numerous cities, Agrippa, Gaius, Lucius, and Tiberius

⁶⁵⁸ However, as made clear in Section 5.3, those Agrippan coins minted before 21 BC should be viewed as “dynastic” coins.

⁶⁵⁹ For section 5.6.1 refer to Table 1 and for section 5.6.2 refer to Table 2.

⁶⁶⁰ Livia does not appear on coins of the western provinces until the reign of Tiberius.

show up earlier and in greater bulk on these coins than they do on “mainstream” coins. They are also almost always accompanied by an identifying legend. Lucius, in particular, is seen much earlier and on more coin types than his single portrayal on the *Principes Iuventutis* reverse type from Lugdunum. Tiberius is also seen much earlier than his first appearance on Lugdunese bronzes in AD 9.

In 19 BC, following Agrippa’s pacification of Spain, many Spanish cities were reorganized.⁶⁶¹ As discussed earlier, Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia began issuing “mainstream” coins in c. 19 BC.⁶⁶² As proconsul of Spain, Agrippa reorganized the *municipium* of Gades in 19 BC and hence was called *patronus* and *parens*, and the bronze coins of Gades minted in the name of Agrippa can be viewed as foundation issues, that is, which name him as (re)founder of the city.⁶⁶³ Ulia also named him as its patron.⁶⁶⁴ At Carthago Nova, Agrippa was elected honorary *quinquennalis* together with Augustus as is explicitly recorded on the obverse legend of a bronze coin, and he was also made its patron.⁶⁶⁵

While only two Augustan “mainstream” coin types depict Gaius and/or Lucius, Gaius and Lucius appear on numerous issues from Africa and Spain. While Gaius appears on both Lugdunese “mainstream” reverse types, he appears more frequently than not together with Lucius on western “provincial” types. Only Gaius is seen on Lugdunese *aurei* and *denarii* from 8 BC.⁶⁶⁶ However, “provincial” coins from Hadrumentum and Achulla dated to 8-7 BC depict both Gaius and Lucius. They are then seen together on coins from various Spanish cities from 6 BC. Epigraphic dedications to both Gaius and Lucius also first appear in Spain in 6 BC.⁶⁶⁷ A coin type

⁶⁶¹ Dio 54.11.6.

⁶⁶² See Chapter 4.

⁶⁶³ Grant 1946: 172.

⁶⁶⁴ *CIL* 2.1527.

⁶⁶⁵ Koch 1979: 212.

⁶⁶⁶ See above, section 5.5.

⁶⁶⁷ Gaius: e.g. Saguntum.

Lucius: e.g. Urgavo.

Étienne 1958: 397.

of Caesaraugusta from 4-3 BC shows Augustus together with Gaius and Lucius, each standing a base with his name above it, which clearly refers to a statue group set up in Caesaraugusta.⁶⁶⁸

As early as 16 BC, Tiberius was called *patronus* at Carthago Nova, Italica, and Ulia.⁶⁶⁹ He is explicitly named by both obverse and reverse legends on coins from Gades minted in 16 BC. As mentioned above, at Ulia, dedications were also made to Agrippa and Gaius as well as Augustus, Agrippa Postumus, and Antonia. All the male members, except for Agrippa Postumus, were given the title *patronus*. These dedications most probably date to 12 BC.⁶⁷⁰ In 9 BC and 6-5 BC, Tiberius is portrayed on the obverses of coins at Carthago Nova and Hippo Regius.⁶⁷¹ When Fabius Africanus was proconsul, Hippo Regius gained municipal status under Augustus. Africanus issued another coin type in 6-5 BC portraying Gaius and Lucius in Hippo Regius and another at Hadrumentum in the same year.

Some proconsuls also appear on coins. For instance, at the same time Africanus minted coins portraying Gaius and Lucius at Hadrumentum and Hippo Regius in 6-5 BC, mentioned above, he also issued an another obverse type portraying himself. On the reverse of a coin type, minted at Achulla in 8-7 BC, showing heads of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius, P. Quinctilius Varus, proconsul, depicted a portrait of himself on the reverse.⁶⁷² It should be noted that the non-imperial portraits (i.e., not of Augustus or members of his family) appear only in Africa, Bithynia, and Asia. These proconsuls were mainly related to Augustus by marriage and one (Gallus) claimed to have the personal friendship of Augustus.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁸ Ramage 1998: 453.

⁶⁶⁹ *CIL* 2.5930, 1113, and 1529.

⁶⁷⁰ Hanson-Johnson 1946: 390.

⁶⁷¹ The bare head on the obverses from Gades is not identified in *RPC I*: 88-91. However, it is identified as Tiberius in Vives 1924-26: 3. n.43.

⁶⁷² *RPC I*: 780, 710, and 798.

⁶⁷³ See Grant 1946: 227-229 for the concept of *amici principis*. See also now Burnett 2011: 22-23.

There are a couple instances where “mainstream” types are echoed, such as on the CAESARES GEMINI reverse type minted in Tarraco after 2 BC as well as the obverse types of AD 10 and AD 13 from Carthage and Leptis Magna that depict Tiberius.⁶⁷⁴ However, as a whole, members of the Augustan family show up on coins of the western provinces earlier than their “mainstream” counterparts and appear on obverses with identifying legends.

5.6.2 The Augustan Family on Eastern “Provincial” Coinages

Female members of the Augustan family are portrayed on coins of the provinces in the east. Numerous cities issue coins depicting Gaius and Lucius. Agrippa appears rather infrequently. There is no increase in the number of cities displaying Tiberius even after AD 4 when Gaius and Lucius are no longer being advertised.

Agrippa is seen on coins minted just three years after Actium. He is seen on coins dated to 27 BC from Cnossos, Nicopolis, Apamea, and Parium. The obverse legend, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ, that accompanies the coins from Nicopolis certainly refers to the role of Agrippa at the Battle of Actium. Octavian founded Nicopolis in commemoration of his Actian victory, and this is the reason for the portrayal of Agrippa as well as the naval imagery displayed on the reverses.⁶⁷⁵ Agrippa then appears on a coin from c. 20 BC minted in Cyrenaica, and may actually be even dated from 18 BC when both Augustus and Agrippa both held the *tribunicia potestas*.⁶⁷⁶

Only one “mainstream” coin type depicts Livia from Lugdunum that is dated to AD 13-14. However, the legend on this coin does not actually identify Livia.⁶⁷⁷ Already in the twenties BC, Livia appears on “provincial” coins in the east with an identifying legend, and altogether seventeen cities in eastern provinces minted coins

⁶⁷⁴ See section 5.5 on Gaius and Lucius and 5.7 on Tiberius.

⁶⁷⁵ *RPC I*: 1366-1367

⁶⁷⁶ *RPC I*: 942.

⁶⁷⁷ Fig. 142
*RIC I*² 219-20.

portraying Livia during the lifetime of Augustus.⁶⁷⁸ This echoes the tradition of the depiction of royal women on Hellenistic coins as well as the portrayal of Roman women on Antonian coins.⁶⁷⁹ She does not appear on coins of the west until the reign of Tiberius, with the exception of the one “mainstream” type mentioned above, when coinage of Lugdunum was already “Tiberian”.

Twenty-four cities in the eastern provinces portray Gaius and/or Lucius. The majority of these coins were issued between 10 BC and AD 4, but Gaius and Lucius are depicted as early as 12 BC at Sinope. In 2 BC, Magnesia ad Sipylum portrays Gaius and Lucius together with Livia and Augustus.⁶⁸⁰ Gaius is also seen together with Livia in Tralles, also from 2 BC.⁶⁸¹

After AD 4, cities ceased to issue coins showing Gaius and Lucius. While nine cities in the west began to portray Tiberius after AD 4, only four cities in the east depict Tiberius during Augustus’ lifetime. One of these cities, Corinth, a Roman colony, simply adds Tiberius into its large series of coins devoted to members of the Augustan family, including Agrippa Postumus, Germanicus, and Drusus Minor.⁶⁸²

In the western provinces, then, there seems to be a balance in the output of the portrayal of Agrippa, Gaius, Lucius, and Tiberius. In the eastern provinces, Agrippa and Tiberius are infrequently depicted as opposed to the numerous portrayals of Livia, Gaius, and Lucius. The pattern is too striking to be accidental. The Eastern cities were receptive to a “royal” family and succession. The colonies and *municipia* of the West were more keen on the traditional image of Tiberius as an independent Republican general.

⁶⁷⁸ E.g. *RPC I*: 1563.

⁶⁷⁹ For the first portrayal of a Hellenistic queen (Arsinoe II), see Mørholm 1991: no.294.

For Fulvia, see *RPC I*: 3139-3140.

She was also portrayed in Lugdunum (*RRC* 512-513).

For Octavia, see e.g. Figs. 16, 17, and 127 (*RPC I*: 2201, 2202, and 1454).

⁶⁸⁰ *RPC I*: 2449.

⁶⁸¹ *RPC I*: 2648.

⁶⁸² *RPC I*: 1140-1145.

5.7 THE TIBERIAN BRONZE COINS OF AD 9-14

Some bronze coins issued at the mints of Lugdunum and Rome in the period from AD 9 to AD 14 depict the head of Tiberius on the obverse. Lugdunese *sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*, and *semisses* portray the bare or laureate head of Tiberius on the obverse and the altar of Roma and Augustus on the reverse. *Asses* produced at Rome in AD 10-11 show the bare head of Tiberius on the obverse and the legend PONTIFEX TRIBVN POTESTATE XII around S C on the reverse. Strangely, these Tiberian coins have received little attention in scholarship, despite the fact that they portray Tiberius as the equal of Augustus.

The coins of AD 9-14 are simply not mentioned in the most recent studies of the Augustan age, or even in some numismatic surveys.⁶⁸³ Most numismatic works describe them, but do not comment on them.⁶⁸⁴ Severy only mentions the Lugdunese bronzes and erroneously writes that the laureate head of Tiberius “replaces” that of Augustus on the altar of Lugdunum series, although coins portraying Augustus were minted contemporaneously.⁶⁸⁵ Ramage just states of the Lugdunese coins that “the meaning seems perfectly clear: Tiberius is to be associated with the cult of Augustus in Lyon.”⁶⁸⁶ Similarly, Sutherland and Levick assert without discussion that these coins present Tiberius as co-regent or successor.⁶⁸⁷ I will argue that Sutherland and Levick are basically right, and hence Ramage too, but that there is much more to be said about the specifics of the images and the titulature on these coins, which deepens our understanding of the Tiberian succession. I argue also that these coins provided the model, ignored by scholars, for later issues portraying imperial successor-designates.

⁶⁸³ General: e.g. Zanker 1990, Galinsky 1996, Pollini 2012, or even Kuttner 1995 despite her discussion of the Tiberian triumph on one of the Boscoreale cups.

Numismatic: e.g. Burnett and Walker 1981, Trillmich 1988 and Sutherland’s 1987a handbook on “imperial” coinage.

⁶⁸⁴ E.g. Grant 1953: 13; Sutherland 1976b: 41.

⁶⁸⁵ Severy 2003: 203.

⁶⁸⁶ Ramage 1997: 157.

⁶⁸⁷ Sutherland 1951: 76 and Levick 1976: 63-4.

The Lugdunese *sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*, and *semisses* portray the head of Tiberius with varying legends on the obverse. These legends, all with both bare and laureate Tiberian heads, are TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT V, TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERATOR V, TI CAESAR IMPERAT VI, TI CAESAR IMPERAT VII, or TI CAESAR IMPERATOR VII. The Lugdunese altar of Roma and Augustus is depicted on the reverse with the legend ROM ET AVG.⁶⁸⁸ We should also consider the reverse types of Augustan *aurei* and *denarii* minted in AD 13-14 at Lugdunum which portray Tiberius mentioned above, Figs. 140 and 141. The obverses on these gold and silver coins all show a laureate head of Augustus with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE. One of the reverse types depicts Tiberius, laureate, standing in a quadriga and holding a laurel branch and an eagle-tipped sceptre and the other shows a bare head of Tiberius. They all bear the legend TI CAESAR AVG F TR POT XV. The *asses* minted at Rome in AD 10-11 portray a bare headed Tiberius on the obverse with the legend TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT (or sometimes IMPERATOR) V and PONTIFEX TRIBVN POTESTATE XII around S C on the reverse.⁶⁸⁹

Scholars give varying start dates for the Lugdunese bronzes with the obverse legend IMPERAT V (or sometimes IMPERATOR V). Sutherland gives AD 8, Mattingly and Robinson give AD 9, and Giard AD 10. Tiberius commanded a Pannonian campaign from 12 BC to 9 BC. In 12 BC, he was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia* and in 9 BC he was called imperator for the first time and celebrated an *ovatio*.⁶⁹⁰ The Pannonians revolted in AD 6, but were nevertheless suppressed in AD 8, for which Tiberius earned his fourth imperatorial salutation, and Augustus his

⁶⁸⁸ Figs. 143a-c
*RIC I*² 235-248b.

⁶⁸⁹ Fig. 143d
*RIC I*² 469-470.

⁶⁹⁰ For Tiberius' initial successes in Pannonia, see *Res Gestae* 30.1.
 For 12 BC, see Dio 54.31.4 and Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.2. For 9 BC, see Dio 55.2.4-4.

eighteenth. It was in AD 9, when Tiberius subjugated the Dalmatians, that he became *imperator* for the fifth time.⁶⁹¹ His sixth imperial salutation came in AD 11 when he, along with Germanicus, invaded Germany.⁶⁹² For his further activities in Germany, he received his seventh imperial salutation in AD 13 corresponding with the grant of Augustus' twenty-first imperial salutation in the same year.⁶⁹³ Thus, the Tiberian altar of Lugdunum bronzes with the IMPERAT (or IMPERATOR) V obverse legend must have begun to be produced in AD 9. The bronzes with the IMPERAT (or IMPERATOR) VII obverse legend must have been issued from AD 13 into AD 14, when the obverse legend changed, following the deification of Augustus in September AD 14, to TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS.⁶⁹⁴ The *aurei* and *denarii* from Lugdunum are dated to AD 13-14 by Tiberius' fifteenth *tribunicia potestas*, and the Roman *asses* are clearly dated to AD 10-11 by his twelfth *tribunician potestas* recorded on the reverses.

These Lugdunese and Roman Tiberian bronzes were minted contemporaneously with bronzes portraying Augustus, and share reverse types with them. To put them into context, it is helpful first to review the Augustan issues. The first series of the altar of Lugdunum bronzes, commonly referred to as "Altar I", began to be produced in 10 BC. In 12 BC, Drusus called together leaders from the three Gallic provinces to found an altar to Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone rivers. The altar was then dedicated in 10 BC, and Augustus, Tiberius, and Drusus were present at the ceremony.⁶⁹⁵ *Sestertii* and *asses* all depict a laureate head of Augustus on the obverse with the legend CAESAR PONT MAX and the altar of Lugdunum on the

⁶⁹¹ Barnes 1974: 24, Mócsy 1974: 39, Levick 1976: 242n.36, Syme 1979: 316, Hurlet 1997: 151, and Swan 2004: 365. For AD 9, see Dio 56.17.1-3.

⁶⁹² Dio 56.25.2.

⁶⁹³ Dio 56.28.6.

⁶⁹⁴ *RIC I*²: Tiberius 31.

⁶⁹⁵ Dio 54.36.3-4

Rich 1993.

reverse with the legend ROM ET AVG.⁶⁹⁶ The front of the altar is ornamented with a *corona civica* flanked by two laurel branches. On the other side of each of these laurel branches is a figure which appears to be a Lar.⁶⁹⁷ Anthropoid busts of members of the Augustan family flanking two *aediculae* most probably housing statuettes of Roma and Augustus stand on the altar.⁶⁹⁸ At either end of the altar is a figure of Victory perched on a column facing each other and holding a laurel crown. These coins were issued until 2 BC, before Augustus received the title of *Pater Patriae*.

The second series of the altar of Lugdunum bronzes, known as “Altar II”, is the series which portrays Tiberius as well as Augustus. The only difference between the “Altar I” and “Altar II” reverses is the addition of a ribbon to the laurel crowns held by the Victories on the “Altar II” type. The bronzes portraying Augustus depict him bare or laureate and all bear the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE.⁶⁹⁹ They are dated from AD 9 to AD 14 in *RIC I*² and between AD 10 and AD 14 in *BMCRE I* and *CBN I*. What is remarkable is that at any given time within these chronological parameters bronze coins with the same reverse type were produced in the name of Tiberius as well as Augustus.

At Rome, minting in gold and silver ceased in 12 BC. Bronze coins were minted until 4 BC when production ceased entirely until AD 10. When bronze coinage was revived, the first issue to be minted was the Tiberian *asses* of AD 10-11. Then, in AD 11-12, *asses* were minted which all portray a bare head of Augustus with the legend

⁶⁹⁶ Fig. 144a
*RIC I*² 229-230.

⁶⁹⁷ The identification of these figures as Lares was proposed by Alföldi 1973: 37 and is followed by Giard in *CBN I* and by Fishwick 1987 1.119-120.

⁶⁹⁸ Objects such as these were carried in procession at festivals of the ruler cult and were generally kept in the pronaos of a temple. See Fishwick 1987: 1.123 and 1999: 100-101.

⁶⁹⁹ Fig. 144b
*RIC I*² 231-234.

IMP CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS IMP XX on the obverse and PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POT XXXIII around S C on the reverse.⁷⁰⁰

The significance of two details on these Tiberian bronzes deserves more attention. As mentioned earlier, some of the Lugdunese bronzes, beginning on coins bearing the legend IMPERAT (or IMPERATOR) V, show a laureate head of Tiberius. Both the Lugdunese and Roman bronzes bear the title IMPERAT (or IMPERATOR) on the obverse. When Tiberius is wearing a laurel crown, two loose ends are invariably seen at the back of his neck. The *laminiscus*, that is, the tie and the loose ends at the back of the neck, is a mark of honour.⁷⁰¹ It is an integral part of the laurel crown of Roman triumphators from the Republican period onwards. Some Republican *denarii* with the traditional reverse type of Victory in a quadriga depict such a crown.⁷⁰² It should also be remembered that Hellenistic royal portraits commonly showed a diadem with two loose ends at the back of the neck.⁷⁰³

For most of his reign, this laureate image with the *laminiscus* was unique to Augustus, as seen, for instance, on the “Altar I” series, and in effect marked him out as ruler. Later the laurel wreath also came to symbolize membership of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. It should be noted that female members of the Julio-Claudian family are also depicted laureate, such as Livia on a coin from Thessalonica dated to AD 22-23 that shows a bare head of Tiberius on the obverse and a laureate head of Livia on the reverse.⁷⁰⁴ However, the laurel crown she wears does not have two loose ends at the back of the neck. Jucker observes that the laurel crown on women is never seen with a bow-tie and two loose ends at the back of the neck as is obligatory for emperors.⁷⁰⁵ In

⁷⁰⁰ Fig. 144c

*RIC I*² 471.

⁷⁰¹ Pliny *NH* 21.6; Servius *Aen.* 5.269.

⁷⁰² *RRC* 246, 253, and 280.

⁷⁰³ See Chapter 2 and 3.

⁷⁰⁴ *RPC I*: 1567.

⁷⁰⁵ Jucker 1976: 226.

Tristia 3.1.41-46, composed after AD 8, Ovid writes that the laurel represents the eternal rule of Augustus' family. In his triumph of 29 BC, Augustus had worn and carried a laurel taken from the *Gallina Alba*. His successors adopted this custom of picking a laurel from this grove for their triumphs.⁷⁰⁶ This began with Tiberius. While Agrippa had refused to celebrate triumphs voted for his victories in 37, 19, and 14 BC, Tiberius celebrated two triumphs during Augustus' lifetime.⁷⁰⁷ In 12 BC Tiberius had only received *ornamenta triumphalia* and in 9 BC was only awarded an *ovatio*. However, in 7 BC, he was granted his first triumph for his victory in Germany in 8 BC, the first triumph celebrated in Rome since that of L. Corneilius Balbus in 19 BC.⁷⁰⁸ Tiberius' second triumph was celebrated in AD 13 for his Illyrian victory of AD 12.⁷⁰⁹

Tiberius is certainly presented as a triumphator on the Lugdunese *aurei* and *denarii* of AD 13-14. This image recalls the coin types of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Octavian portraying these *triumphatores* standing in a quadriga holding a laurel branch.⁷¹⁰ We may compare the depiction of Tiberius as a triumphator on the Boscoreale cups, most likely representing Tiberius' first triumph of 8/7 BC. He stands in a quadriga, wearing a *toga picta*, a *tunica palmata* and holding an eagle-tipped sceptre and a laurel branch, and he is crowned by a *servus publicus*.⁷¹¹

Taken as a whole, these Tiberian bronze coins advertise, first, Tiberius' acclamations as imperator and second that this new triumphator is becoming equal to Augustus with his portrait only on the obverse of some issues, the same association as Ramage saw, with the worship of Rome and the "Augustus" at Lugdunum. The

⁷⁰⁶ Pliny, *NH* 15.137.

⁷⁰⁷ For Agrippa's refusals of celebrating triumphs, see Dio 48.49.3-4, 54.11.6, and 54.27.4.

⁷⁰⁸ Dio 55.8.2.

⁷⁰⁹ *Fasti Praenestini*, IIt.13.2.134-135.

⁷¹⁰ See Chapter 2.3.2 and Figs. 40a (*RRC* 367), and 50a-b (*RIC I*² 263-264).

⁷¹¹ Fig. 145

See also Kuttner 1995: 143-154.

replacement of Augustus by Tiberius is being presented and justified in Republican terms of military success.

It became standard for coins to be issued for the heir-apparent as Caesar. For instance, *asses* from Rome minted in AD 22-23 depict the bare head of Drusus with legend DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVG F DIVI AVG N on the obverse and PONTIF TRIBVN POTESIT ITER around S C on the reverse. At the same time, *asses* in the name of Tiberius were also produced portraying a bare head of Tiberius with the legend TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST IMP VIII on the obverse and PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTESIT XXIII on the reverse.⁷¹² In AD 71, after the triumph of Vespasian and Titus over Judaea, bronze coins were issued for Titus. From AD 72 to AD 79 when he became Augustus, *aurei* and *denarii* were also produced in his name. In AD 73, silver and bronze coins were minted for Domitian.⁷¹³ On post-Augustan coinage, both emperors and their heir-apparents are also often shown laureate with two loose ends at the back of the neck. This type of laurel crown essentially became reserved for members of the imperial family and has traditionally become a symbol of imperial power. Mommsen wrote “ist seit dem Beginn des Prinzipats der Lorbeerkrantz das Distinctiv des Herrschers.”⁷¹⁴ That this characteristic of Roman “imperial” coinage was already created during the lifetime of Augustus is generally ignored.⁷¹⁵ Most scholars present this as a post-Augustan development, but my conclusion is that the model was these Tiberian coins of AD 9-14.

⁷¹² *RIC I*²: Tiberius 45 and 44.

⁷¹³ E.g. Titus - *RIC 2*: Vespasian 369; Domitian - *RIC 2*: Vespasian 917 and 926.

⁷¹⁴ Mommsen 1887-8: 1.427f.

See also Alföldi 1935: 19-22 and e.g. above, n.713.

⁷¹⁵ E.g. Howgego 1995: 81.

5.8 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, there is a shift in Republican “familial” coin typology from “ancestral” to the living, current members of the *domus Augusti*. At first, Octavianic coins portray living leaders of contemporary political alliances. Then, living members and/or their accomplishments of the Augustan family slowly begin to dominate later Augustan coin types. The introduction of these living members of the *domus Augusti* is indeed a distinct common ground between Augustan coins catalogued in *Roman Imperial Coinage 1*² and *Roman Provincial Coinage 1*. However, the development of living members of the *domus Augusti* as a typological entry into Roman numismatics seems to begin in earnest first on “provincial” coins and then only slowly, but steadily, becomes fully integrated into “mainstream” coin typology.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has questioned the current classification of coinage in the age of Octavian/Augustus. Four case studies of Octavianic/Augustan coinage grouped chronologically or by theme have been examined to determine whether there was one turning point, or a predictable series of changes, or a more complex and not unilinear evolution. My examination has shown that the changes that occurred on the types and legends of Octavianic/Augustan coinage are much more nuanced and subtle than has previously been stated.

In 32 BC Octavian brought his rivalry to a head with Antony when he declared war against Egypt. He was victorious at the Battle of Actium of 31 BC and celebrated his triple triumph at Rome in August 29 BC. Octavian's so-called transfer of the *res publica* to the Senate and people took place in 28-27 BC. He annulled his unjust triumviral acts and took other constitutional measures. The reorganization of the provinces meant that he had military control comparable to the extraordinary commands of the Late Republic and he was to retain his office as consul each year. However, he did not hold any sort of new position in 27 BC. The CAESAR DIVI F(ilius) and IMP(erator) CAESAR *aurei* and *denarii* of c. 32-27 BC and the other Octavianic coins of 29-27 BC do not portray Octavian any differently than to how Late Republican promagistrates and generals were already being represented. While the increase of images of a living personage is new to the typological inventory of Roman coinage, this trend is not new to the artistic trends of the Late Republic that were influenced by Hellenistic visual media. Octavian here styles himself in the conventional "heroic portrait" and "heroic figure" type, and therefore these coins should not be separated from catalogues of Roman Republican coinage, but should be characterized as in a "Hellenistic monarchic" tradition.

In 23 BC Augustus resigned the consulship and received the grant of *tribunicia potestas* and *maius imperium proconsulare*. At the Roman mint, the Numa *asses* of 23 BC reflect how Augustus was still trying to legitimize himself. Many coins issued from 19 BC to 16 BC at Rome and various other “mainstream” mints still primarily employed Hellenistic motifs. In 19 BC, however, Augustus was apparently granted *consular imperium* without holding the office of consul. At Rome, in conjunction with coins minted contemporaneously in Spain at Colonia Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia, from 19 BC to 16 BC there is a sudden and consistent burst of new legends and coin types. Also from 19 BC to 16 BC, two typological entries become predominant at the Roman and both Spanish mints as well as at the mint of Pergamum (in 19-18 BC). The first of these typological categories is that of “honorific” types. The employment of the legend SPQR becomes almost formulaic now and types depicting honours are designed to suggest that Augustus had the support of both the Senate and the people. The second category is that of “anticipatory” types. In the second century BC, following the first stage of Roman coin typology that began in the third century BC with “public” types, a new typological stage of “commemorative” types was developed. These “commemorative” types first memorialized past familial achievements and then later memorialized recent, contemporary achievements. The Mars Ultor coins of c. 19-16 BC show that there was a subtle shift in numismatic typology from commemorating an achievement or event to anticipating an achievement or event. However, it should be noted that the circular shape of the Mars Ultor temple coins evokes Italic primitive huts, that is, they recall archaic Rome in the midst of launching something new. The “vota” types may also be considered to be “anticipatory”. These *vota publica* are concerned with Augustus’ future – his continued safety and health, and his anticipated returns from provincial campaigns. This is not to say, though, that there was a linear progression in numismatic typology. Some of the features of the “honorific” types and these “vota”

types were already in place by the Late Republic. Senatorial honorific decrees of the Late Republic that had appeared in written records and been visualized through artistic media were now transposed onto the medium of coinage. The coins minted from 13BC to 12 BC are divided into two typological groups: those that have “Republican” elements and those that are part of another new typological category in Roman coinage which represent living members of the *domus Augusti*. This category introduces an extremely specific shift from Republican “ancestral” types that commemorated deceased members of Roman aristocratic families to types celebrating living members of one particular Roman family, the family of Augustus, and connects both “mainstream” and “provincial” coinage creating a common, universal theme in all Roman coinage. This recalls how Hellenistic royal families dominated Hellenistic coinages. However, it should be noted that “Republican” elements still abound. On the Tiberian bronzes of AD 9-14 from Lugdunum and Rome, Tiberius is portrayed as a Republican military general.

The change in Roman coinage between c. 32 BC and 27 BC that would distinguish this period from the Late Republic, particularly from the period of Sulla onwards, when the image of a living person first appears as reverse type, and from Julius Caesar onwards, when the portrait of a living person first appears as an obverse type, is the boom in images of a living personage. A myriad of such images was never before seen on Roman coinage, but was already prevalent in other Roman artistic media. From 19 BC to 16 BC, “honorific” and “anticipatory” types are introduced into the inventory of Roman numismatic typology. These types demonstrate a move towards “monarchic” typology. The “vota” coins are particularly related to Augustus’ welfare, thus implying an interest in the future as opposed to the concentration on the past in the Republican period. From 15 BC to AD 14, there is indeed a corresponding increase in coin types displaying members of the Augustan family that were minted.

However, the Tiberian bronzes issued at Lugdunum and Rome from AD 9 to AD 14 present an ambiguity. Tiberius is displayed in the style of a Republican triumphator. Thus, I suggest that a specific date or specific time period that would mark a beginning for the Principate cannot be identified in the Octavianic/Augustan coinage. There is, at times, a step forward that reveals some new typological entry, but then there is a return to “Republican” elements, such as is seen with these obverse portraits of Tiberius minted during Augustus’ lifetime.

This thesis has examined the majority though not all the known Octavianic/Augustan coin types. Some connections between Octavianic/Augustan coinage and Hellenistic coinage have been made here that have not been made before. A comprehensive survey of all the debts which Republican and Octavianic/Augustan coins owed to Hellenistic coinage would be extremely valuable. The concentration has been on “mainstream” coinage although one aspect of “provincial” coinage has been included. It would be of great interest to study all the known types, “mainstream” and “provincial”, to determine whether or not they also follow a similar multilinear evolution. The traditional categorisation of Late Republican coinage, with its use of terms such as “public”, “private”, “personal”, and the contrasting “imperial” and “imperial”, would benefit from more thorough re-appraisal.

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Aureus. Ephesus, 28 BC. British Museum accession no. CM 1995, 4-1.1.
Obv: IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI – laureate head of Octavian, r./Rev: LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT – Octavian togate and seated on a curule chair, l., holding out a scroll with a *scrinium* on the ground.
2. Aureus. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 273.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – tetrastyle temple within which is a military trophy on a prow, a triskelis in pediment.
3. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 271.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – rostral column surmounted by Octavian, nude but for wearing a chlamys over l. shoulder, holding a spear in r. hand and a parazonium in l. hand.
4. Denarius. Rome, c. 31-27 BC. *RIC I*² 267.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – arch surmounted by facing quadriga bearing Octavian.
5. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 256.
Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Octavian as Neptune, nude but for wearing a chlamys and sword belt, standing l., r. foot on a globe, holding an aplustre in r. hand and a spear in l. hand.
6. Denarius. Rome, c. 29-27 BC. *RIC I*² 266.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – Curia Julia, Victory on a globe at apex of pediment, warriors at the angles.
7. Aureus. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 268.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – Victory standing facing on a globe, holding a wreath in r. hand and a vexillum in l. hand.
8. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 255.
Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Victory standing r. on a globe, holding a wreath in r. hand and a palm in l. hand.
9. Denarius. Mint moving with Antony, 32-31 BC. *RRC* 544/11.
Obv: ANT AVG III VIR R P C – ship r. with sceptre tied to a fillet on prow/Rev: LEG XVIII LYBICAE – aquila in between two standards.
10. Bronze. Southern Italian mint, 38 BC. *RRC* 535/1.
Obv: CAESAR DIVI F – bare head of Octavian with slight beard, r.
11. Denarius. Massilia, 44-43 BC. *RRC* 483/2.
Obv: NEPTVNI – bare head of Pompey the Great, r.; before, a trident, below, a dolphin.
12. Denarius. Northern Italian mint or Illyricum, 35-34 BC. *RIC I*² 543a.
Obv: bare head of Octavian, r./Rev: IMP CAE SAR DIVI F – round shield with three concentric rows of studs and central boss.

13. Quinarius. Rome, 29-28 BC. *RIC I*² 276.

Rev: ASIA RECEPTA - Victory standing l. on cista mystica, holding wreath in r. hand and palm branch in l. hand, between two snakes.

14. Denarius. Rome, 28 BC. *RIC I*² 275a.

Rev: AEGVPTO CAPTA – crocodile, r.

15. Denarius. Alexandria, 34 BC. *RRC* 543.

Obv: ANTONI ARMENIA DEVICTA - bare head of Antony, r.; behind, Armenian tiara.

16. Cistophorus. Ephesus, 39 BC. *RPC I*: 2201.

Obv: M ANTONIVS IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT – head of Antony, r., wearing an ivy wreath; below, lituus, all enclosed in ivy wreath/Rev: III VIR R P C – head of Octavia, r., above cista mystica between two snakes.

17. Cistophorus. Ephesus, 39 BC. *RPC I*: 2202.

Obv: M ANTONIVS IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT – jugate heads of Antony, wearing an ivy wreath, and Octavia/Rev: III VIR R P C – Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus and a thyrsus, on a cista mystica between two snakes.

18. Bronze. Cyrene and Crete, 37-36 BC. *RPC I*: 914.

Obv: crocodile, r.

19. Cistophorus. Ephesus, 28 BC. *RIC I*² 476.

Obv: IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX – laureate head of Octavian, r./Rev: PAX – Pax standing l. on parazonium, holding a caduceus in l. hand; in field r., snake emerging from a cista mystica, all enclosed in laurel wreath.

20a. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 251.

Obv: bust of Venus r., wearing stephane and necklace.

20b. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 253.

Obv: bust of Pax r., draped and wearing a stephane; behind, a cornucopia, in front, an olive spray.

20c. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 256.

Obv: bust of Victory r., wings spread.

20d. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 272.

Obv: laureate head of Apollo, r.

20e. Aureus. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 273.

Obv: bust of Diana r., draped with quiver at shoulder.

20f. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 274.

Obv: IMP – helmeted bust of Mars, r.

21a. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 250a.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Venus standing r., holding a helmet in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand and leaning against a column; behind, a shield bearing the *sidus Iulium*.

21b. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 252.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Pax standing l., holding an olive branch in r. hand and a cornucopia in l. hand.

21c. Aureus. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 261.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Victory in biga galloping r., holding a wreath in r. hand and reins and a palm branch in l. hand.

21d. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 263.

Obv: Victory standing r. on a prow, holding a wreath in r. hand and a palm branch in l. hand.

22a. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 274.

Obv: IMP - helmeted bust of Mars/Rev: CAESAR – shield, lying on crossed spear and sword, bearing the *sidus Iulium*.

22b. Denarius. Rome, 44 BC. *RRC* 480/9.

Rev: P SEPVLLIVS MACER – Venus standing l., holding Victory in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand; a shield on ground to r.

22c. Tetradrachm. Seleucia on Calycadnus, c. 97-95 BC. Houghton and Lorber: no.2405.

Obv: diademed head of Seleucus VI Nicator, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ – Athena standing l., holding Victory in r. hand and resting l. hand on a shield behind which is a sceptre.

23. Bronze. Southern Italian mint, 38 BC. *RRC* 535/2.

Obv: DIVI F – bare head of Octavian with slight beard, r., before, *sidus Iulium*/Rev: DIVOS IVLIVS in laurel wreath.

24a. Denarius. Rome, 157 BC. *RRC* 197.

Rev: ROMA – Victory in a biga galloping r., holding reins in l. hand and a whip in r. hand.

24b. Stater. Pella, c. 323-315 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.55.

Obv: laureate head of Apollo, r./Rev: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ - Nike in biga galloping, r., holding reins in l. hand and whip in r. hand.

25. Tetradrachm. Salamis, c. 300-295 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.162.

Obv: Nike standing l. on a prow, blowing a trumpet in r. hand and holding a mast in l. hand.

26. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 257.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Mercury, nude, seated r. on a rock, a petasus on his back and holding a lyre in both hands.

27a. Tetradrachm. Bithynia, 183-149 BC. Chittenden 1945: pl.IX.10.

Obv: head of Prusias II r. wearing a winged diadem.

27b. Tetradrachm. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, c.278-261 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.344.

Obv: diademed head of Antiochus I, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ – Apollo seated l. on an omphalos, holding an arrow in r. hand and a bow in l. hand.

27c. Bronze statue of Hermes seated on a rock. Roman 1st century AD copy of a 4th-3rd century BC original from the school of Lysippus found in Herculaneum. Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale.

27d. Agate plaque depicting bust of Octavian with attributes of Mercury, l.; in front, a caduceus (known as the Ionides Octavian). c. 35-27 BC. London, British Museum.

28. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 265a.

Rev: IMP CAESAR – military trophy, its base crossed with a rudder and an anchor, on a prow r.

29. Aureus. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 258.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – triumphal quadriga with ornamented panels and surmounted by four miniature galloping horses.

30a. Double-daric. Babylon, c. 326-323 BC. Kroll 2007: fig. 90a.

Obv: head of Alexander the Great, r., wearing an elephant's scalp and a ram's horns and an aegis of Zeus around the neck.

30b. Tetradrachm. Sardes, c. 281-261 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.323.

Obv: diademed head of Antiochus I, r.

31a. Stater. Macedonia, c. 197 BC. *RRC* 548.

Obv: bearded head of T. Quinctius Flamininus, r./Rev: T QVINCTI – Victory standing l., holding a wreath in r. hand and a palm branch in l. hand.

31b. Tetradrachm, Pella, c. 220-217 BC. Smith 1988: pl.74.8.

Obv: diademed head of Philip V of Macedon, r.

31c. Bronze. Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, c. 66 BC. *SNG Paris* 1215.

Obv: bare head of Pompey, r.

31d. Denarius, Rome, 44 BC. *RRC* 480/3.

Obv: CAESAR DICT QVART – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r., behind, a lituus.

31e. Aureus. Rome, 42 BC. *RRC* 494/3b.

Obv: C CAESAR III VIR R P C – bare head of Octavian, r.

31f. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 250a.

Obv: bare head of Octavian, r.

31g. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 265a.

Obv: bare head of Octavian, r.

31h. Marble bust of Pompey the Great. c. 60-50 BC. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

32a. As. Spain, 45-44 BC. *RRC* 479.

Obv: MAGNVS - laureate head of Pompey the Great as Janus/Rev: PIVS IMP – prow.

32b. Denarius. Sicily, 42-40 BC. *RRC* 511/3a.

Obv: MAG PIVS IMP ITER – head of Pompey the Great, r.; behind, jug, before, a lituus/Rev: PRAEF CLAS ET ORAE MARIT EX S C – Neptune, diademed, standing l., holding an aplustre in r. hand and a cloak over r. arm and placing r. foot on prow; on either side, one of the Catanaean brothers, bearing his father on his shoulders.

32c. Bronze. Greece, 38 BC. *RPC* 1: 1453.

Obv: M ANT IMP TER COS DES ITER ET TER III VIR R P C – bare head of Antony, r., facing draped bust of Octavia, l./Rev: L ATRATINVS AVGVR COS DESIG – two figures (Antony and Octavia?) in a quadriga of hippocamps; below, an astragalus (?), above the hippocamps' heads, a lituus.

33. Agate intaglio. Triumviral period. Boston, MFA.

Octavian driving a quadriga of hippocamps, carrying a trident in l. hand. In waves, a head of an enemy (most probably Sextus Pompey).

34. Marble statue of Poseidon. Copy of a lost 4th century BC bronze statue by Lysippus. Rome, Lateran.

Poseidon standing facing, r. foot on prow, holding an aplustre in r. hand and a trident in l. hand.

35a. Tetradrachm. Amphipolis, c. 288 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.173.

Obv: diademed and horned head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ – Poseidon standing l., r. foot on rock, holding a trident in left hand.

35b. Aureus. Rome, 42 BC. *RRC* 494/5.

Rev: P CLODIVS M F IIII VIR A P F Aion standing l., r. foot on globe; winged and wearing a radiate crown with a bow and a quiver over shoulder, holding a caduceus in r. hand and a cornucopia in l. hand; on ground, an eagle on a cippus.

36. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC* I² 271.

Obv: laureate head of Octavian, r.

37a. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC* I² 270.

Obv: herm bust of a laureate Octavian as Veiovis; in field, a thunderbolt.

37b. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC* I² 269.

Rev: IMP CAESAR – herm pillar of a laureate Octavian as Veiovis; in field, a thunderbolt.

38a. Denarius, Rome, 85 BC. *RRC* 353.

Obv: MN FONTEI C F – laureate head of Apollo, r.; below, a thunderbolt/Rev: Cupid on goat r.; above, pilei, below, thyrsus, all around laurel wreath.

38b. Tetradrachm. Pontus, c. 185-170 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.623.

Obv: diademed head of Pharnaces I, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ – male figure, wearing petasos, standing facing, holding a cornucopia and kerykeion in l. hand, and a vine branch in r. hand; star-in-crescent to upper left; to lower left, deer standing right, feeding on vine.

- 39a. Marble herm of Philetairos of Pergamum. Late Republican copy of Greek original found at the Villa of Papyri at Herculaneum. Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale.
- 39b. Marble herm of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Late Republican copy of Greek original found at the Villa of Papyri at Herculaneum. Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale.
- 40a. Denarius. Mint moving with Sulla, 82 BC. *RRC* 367.
Obv: L M ANLI PRO Q - helmeted head of Roma, r./Rev: L SVLLA IMP – Sulla in triumphal quadriga, crowned by flying Victory above and holding reins in l. hand and caduceus in r. hand.
- 40b. Aureus. Rome, 80 BC. *RRC* 381.
Obv: A MAN LI A F Q - helmeted bust of Roma r., draped/Rev: L SVLL FE LI DIC – equestrian statue of Sulla, l., wearing laurel wreath and sagum, raising r. hand and holding reins in l. hand.
- 40c. Denarius. Mint moving with Antony, 38 BC. *RRC* 533/2.
Obv: M ANTONIVS M F M N AVGVR IMP TER – Antony standing r., veiled and togate, holding a lituus in r. hand.
- 40d. Aureus. Mint moving with Antony, 38 BC. *RRC* 533/1.
Obv: M ANTONIVS M F M N AVGVR IMP TER – Antony standing r., r. foot on prow, wearing a cuirass, holding a spear in r. hand and a sword in l. hand.
- 41a. Denarius. Gallia Cisalpina and Italy, 43 BC. *RRC* 490/1.
Obv: C CAESAR IMP – bare head of Octavian, r. with beard/Rev: S C – equestrian statue of Octavian l., raised r. hand.
- 41b. Aureus. Mint moving with Octavian, 42 BC. *RRC* 497/1.
Obv: C CAESAR III VIR R P C – bare head of Octavian, r. with beard/Rev: S C – equestrian statue of Octavian, l., holding lituus in r. hand; below, rostrum.
- 41c. Denarius. Mint moving with Octavian, 41 BC. *RRC* 518/2.
Obv: bare head of Octavian, r., with beard/Rev: POPVL IVSSV - galloping equestrian statue of Octavian, outstretched r. arm.
- 42a. Poros Decadrachm. Babylon, c. 326-323 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.44.
Rev: Alexander the Great standing facing, wearing military garb, holding a spear in l. hand and a thunderbolt in r. hand, and crowned by flying Victory above.
- 42b. Bronze. Seleucia-on- the-Tigris, c. 240-230 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.779.
Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – Seleucus II standing l., dressed in military garb and being crowned by Victory from behind, standing l.
- 42c. Bronze. Seleucia-on- the-Tigris, c. 240-230 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.709.
Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – Seleucus II on horseback, charging l. with spear.
- 42d. Bronze. Seleucia-on- the-Tigris, c. 240-230 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.767.
Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – Seleucus II on horseback r., spearing a fallen enemy.

43a. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 253.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Octavian standing r., wearing military garb and chlamys over l. shoulder, raised r. hand in gesture of *adlocutio*, holding a spear in l. hand.

43b. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 251.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Octavian standing l., wearing military garb and chlamys over l. shoulder, outstretched r. arm and holding a spear in l. hand.

43c. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *CBN I*: 5.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Octavian standing l., wearing military garb and chlamys over l. shoulder, outstretched r. arm holding a globe and holding a spear in l. hand.

44a. Marble Roman copy of Polykleitos' Doryphoros statue found in Herculaneum. Bronze original dates to c. 450-400 BC. Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale.

44b. Prima Porta Augustus. Marble copy of a bronze original. After 20 BC, found at the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta. Rome, Vatican.

45. Drawing of a nude colossal statue of Pompey the Great holding a globe in outstretched r. hand, found in the theatre of Pompey. Rome, Palazzo Spada.

46a. Statue of C. Cartilius Poplicola, wearing a chlamys over l. shoulder, l. foot raised on a rock. c.40-30 BC. Ostia, Museo archeologico.

46b. Bronze. Pella, c.26 BC. *RPC I*: 1548.

Obv: IMP DIVI F ACTIO – Augustus standing l., r. foot on prow, wearing military garb and holding a spear in l. hand.

47a. Terme ruler, 3rd or 2nd century BC. Rome, Museo nazionale.

47b. Statue of C. Ofellius Ferus, wearing a chlamys over l. shoulder and holding remains of a sword in l. hand. Late second century BC. Delos museum.

47c. Foruli General wearing a chlamys over l. shoulder and holding remains of a sword in l. hand. First century BC. Chieti Museum.

48. Aureus. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 262.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – equestrian statue of Octavian galloping l., outstretched r. arm.

49. Tivoli General. Late 2nd or early 1st century BC. Rome, Museo nazionale.

50a. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 263.

Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Octavian standing in ornamented triumphal quadriga, r., holding a laurel branch in r. hand and reins in l. hand.

50b. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 264.

Rev: IMP CAESAR – Octavian standing in ornamented triumphal quadriga, r., holding a laurel branch in r. hand and reins in l. hand.

51. Stater. Cyrene, c. 304-298 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.122.
Obv: diademed head of Ptolemy I, r./Rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – Alexander the Great standing in elephant quadriga, l., holding thunderbolt in r. hand.
52. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 272.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – Octavian, veiled and laureate, ploughing with a yoke of oxen, r., holding a whip in l. hand.
53. Statue of Alexander the Great as the *ktistes* of Alexandria. London, British Museum.
54. Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. *RIC I*² 270.
Rev: IMP CAESAR – Octavian seated l. on a curule chair, togate and holding Victory in r. hand.
55. Funerary marble relief depicting a curule chair between two magistrates. c. 30 BC. Rome, Via Casilina.
56. Tetradrachm. Tarsus, c. 294-290 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.155.
Obv: head of Hercules, r., wearing a lionskin headress/Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – Zeus enthroned l., holding Nike in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand.
57. Tetradrachm. Lampsacus, after 297 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.179.
Obv: deified head of Alexander the Great with horns of Ammon/Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ – Athena seated l., holding a spear and Victory in r. hand, who crowns first letter of Lysimachus' name, resting l. elbow on shield.
- 58a. Sestertius. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 383.
Obv: OB CIVIS SERVATOS – oak wreath flanked by two laurel branches/Rev: L NAEVIVS SVRDINVS IIIVIR AAAFF around S C.
- 58b. Dupondius. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 388.
Obv: AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES in three lines in oak wreath/Rev: C PLOTIVS RVFVS IIIVIR AAAFF around S C.
- 58c. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 382.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO CN F IIIVIR AAAFF around S C.
- 59a. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 392.
Obv: CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO C PLOT L SVRDIN – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.
- 59b. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 391.
Obv: CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO L SVRDIN C PLOT RVF – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.
- 59c. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 393.
Obv: CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO C PLOTIVS L SVRDIN – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.

59d. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 390.

Obv: CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO L SVRDIN C PLOT RVF – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.

59e. As. Rome, 23 BC. Kraft 1951/2: Taf.III.5.

Obv: CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r./Rev: CN PISO C PLOT L SVRDIN (legend very worn) – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.

59f. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 394.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO CN F IIIVIR AAAFF – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.

59g. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 395.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO CN F IIIVIR AAAFF – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.

59h. As. Rome, 23 BC. *RIC I*² 396.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: CN PISO CN F IIIVIR AAAFF – diademed head of Numa Pompilius, r.

60. Denarius. Rome, 17 BC. *RIC I*² 338.

Obv: AVGVST DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: M SANQVI NIVS IIIVIR – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r., above, *sidus Iulium*.

61. Denarius. Rome, 17 BC. *RIC I*² 340.

Obv: AVGVST DI VI F LVDOS SAE – herald standing l., wearing long robe and feathered helmet, holding winged caduceus in r. hand and a round shield bearing the *sidus Iulium* in l. hand/Rev: M SANQVI NIVS IIIVIR – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r., above, *sidus Iulium*.

62a. Bronze. Italy, 38 BC. *RRC* 535/1.

Rev: DIVOS IVLIVS – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r.

62b. Denarius. Mint moving with Octavian, 38 BC. *RRC* 534/2.

Obv: DIVOS IVLIVS DIVI F – laureate head of Julius Caesar facing head of Octavian/Rev: M AGRIPPA COS DESIG.

62c. Aureus. Mint moving with Octavian. 38 BC. *RRC* 534/1.

Obv: IMP DIVI IVLI F TER III VIR R P C – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r. in front, *sidus Iulium*.

63. Denarius. Rome, 50 BC. *RRC* 439.

Rev: MARCELLVS COS QVINQ – M. Claudius Marcellus, Cos., 222, carrying *spolia opima* into temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

64. Romulus and Remus scene. Western façade of Ara Pacis, northern half. Rome.

65. Romulus with *spolia opima*. Pompeian mural, first century AD, based on a statue of Romulus in the central niche of the southeast exedra in the Forum Augustum.

66. Denarius. Rome, 17 BC. *RIC I*² 343.
Obv: AVGVSTVS TR POT – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: P STOLO III VIR – apex between two studded *ancilia*.
67. Numa and/or Aeneas scene. Western façade of the Ara Pacis, southern half. Rome.
68. Denarius. Rome, c. 114-113 BC. *RRC* 290/1.
Obv: laureate head of Fons/Rev: C FONT ROMA – prow, l., before, anchor.
69. Denarius. Rome, 97 BC. *RRC* 334/1.
Obv: L POMPON MOLO – laureate head of Apollo, r./Rev: NVMA POMPIL – Numa Pompilius standing r. in front of a lighted altar, holding a lituus; to r. of altar, a *victimarius* leading a goat.
- 70a. Denarius. Rome, 88 BC. *RRC* 346/1.
Obv: jugate heads of Numa Pompilius, bearded and diademed, and Ancus Marcius, not bearded, r./Rev: C CENSO – desultor r., holding a whip in r. hand.
- 70b. As. Rome, 88 BC. *RRC* 346/4a.
Obv: jugate heads of Numa Pompilius, bearded, and Ancus Marcius, not bearded, r./Rev: C CENSO ROMA – two ships crossing; behind, spiral column surmounted by Victory.
- 70c. As. Rome, 88 BC. *RRC* 346/3.
Obv: jugate heads of Numa Pompilius, bearded, and Ancus Marcius, not bearded, r./Rev: C CENSO ROMA – two arches; beneath l. arch, spiral column surmounted by Victory; protruding from r. arch, a prow.
71. Denarius. Rome, 56 BC. *RRC* 425.
Obv: ANCVS – diademed head of Ancus Marcius, r.; behind, a lituus/Rev: PHILIPPVS AQVAMARC – aqueduct on which stands an equestrian statue, r.
72. Denarius. Mint moving with Pompey the Great, 49 BC. *RRC* 446.
Obv: CN PISO PRO Q – head of Numa Pompilius, r., wearing diadem inscribed NVMA and bearded/Rev: MAGN PRO COS – prow, r.
- 73a. Denarius. Rome, 89 BC. *RRC* 344/1a.
Obv: SABIN – bearded head of Tatius, r.
- 73b. Denarius. Rome, 70 BC. *RRC* 404.
Obv: SABINVS – bearded head of Tatius, r.
- 74a. Tetradrachm. Amphipolis, c.289-288 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.173.
Obv: diademed head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, r.
- 74b. Tetradrachm. Alexandria, c. 300-283 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.97.
Obv: diademed head of Ptolemy I, r.
75. Marble bust of Antiochus III. Paris, Louvre Museum.
- 76a. Marble bust of Attalus III. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

76b. Bronze bust of Seleucus I from the Villa di Papyri. Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale.

77. Tetradrachm. Pergamum, 294-281 BC. Houghton and Lorber: no.309.4.
Obv: diademed head of Seleucus I, r.

78. Marble statue of Numa Pompilius from the House of Vestals, Antonine period.
Rome, Curia.

79. Denarius. Rome, 56 BC. *RRC* 427/2.
Obv: QVIRINVS C MEMMI C F – laureate head of Quirinus, r.

80. Reconstruction of the Forum Augustum.

81. Denarius, Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 281.
Obv: TVRPILIANVS IIIVIR FERO – diademed bust of Feronia, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS CAESAR – Augustus standing in elephant biga l., holding a laurel branch in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand.

82. Denarius, Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 303.
Obv: L AQVILLIVS FLORVS IIIVIR – radiate head of Sol, r./Rev: CAESAR AVGVSTVS S C – triumphal quadriga r. with modius-shaped car within which is an aquila (?).

83. Aureus. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 293.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: P PETRON TVRPILIAN IIIVIR – lyre, its body a tortoiseshell.

84. Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 295.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: P PETRON TVRPILIAN IIIVIR – young satyr seated r. on ground, two flutes between his crossed legs.

85a. Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 297.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: P PETRON TVRPILIAN IIIVIR – Pegasus walking r.

85b. Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 300.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: TVRPILIANVS IIIVIR – six-rayed star above crescent.

86. Tetradrachm. Pontus, 89-88 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.625.
Obv: diademed head of Mithridates VI, r./Rev : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΙΑΤΟΠΟΣ, Pegasus l., pawing ground, star in crescent in l. field and all around an ivy wreath.

87a. Aureus. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 316.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – oak-wreathed head of Augustus, r./Rev: M DVRMIVS IIIVIR – crab holding a butterfly.

87b. Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 314.

Obv: M DVRMIVS IIIVIR – diademed bust of Hercules r., with lion's skin and a club over r. shoulder/Rev: CAESAR AVGVSTVS SIGN REC – bare-headed Parthian kneeling r., extending a vexillum marked X in r. hand.

87c. Didrachm. Cos, 3rd century BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.557.

Obv: head of Hercules, r. wearing a lionskin headdress/Rev:

ΚΩΙΟΝ ΤΙΜΟΛΥΚΟΣ – crab in incuse square; below, bow and quiver.

88. Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 317.

Rev: M DVRMIVS IIIVIR – boar standing r., pierced by spear.

89a. Denarius, Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 318.

Rev: M DVRMIVS IIIVIR – lion attacking a stag, l.

89b. Stater. Tarsus, 4th century BC. *SNG France* 332.

Rev: Aramaic legend – lion attacking a stag, l.

90. Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. *RIC I*² 319.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: M DVRMIVS IIIVIR – Victory flying r. with crown above man-headed bull, r.

91. Denarius. Spain - Colonia Caesaraugusta, c.19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 37a.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – oak-wreathed head of Augustus, r./Rev: DIVVS IVLIVS – eight-rayed comet.

92. Head of Alexander the Great surmounted by a crescent, a larger and two smaller stars. Amisus in Pontus. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire.

93. Tetradrachm. Syria, c.175-164 BC. *BMC Syria* 34.

Obv: diademed head of Antiochus IV, r.; with star overhead.

94a. Octadrachm. Alexandria, c.204-198 BC. Hazzard 1995: pl.2.15.

Obv: head of Ptolemy V r., wearing a radiate crown and resting a spear on l. shoulder/Rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – cornucopia in between two stars.

94b. Tetradrachm. Uncertain mint, c. 204-198 BC. Hazzard 1995: pl.2.16.

Obv: head of Ptolemy V r., diademed and draped/Rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ – winged thunderbolt in between a star or comet.

95. Bronze. Pontus, c. 110-80 BC. Ramsey 1999: Fig. 1

Obv: head and neck of horse r., eight-rayed star on neck, surrounded by a circle of dots/Rev: eight-rayed star, one ray of which flares out into the tail of a comet.

96a. Tetradrachm. Syria, c. 83-69 BC. *BMC Syria*: 104.

Obv: head of Tigranes II r., wearing Armenian tiara with a star.

96b. Tetradrachm. Syria, c. 83-69 BC. Mayor 2009: Fig. 2.2.

Obv: head of Tigranes II r., wearing Armenian tiara with a comet.

97. Octadrachm. Alexandria, 253-253 BC. *SNG Copenhagen* 134.
Obv: head of Arsinoe II r., diademed and veiled/Rev: ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ – double cornucopia bound with fillet.
98. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 126.
Obv: bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS – Capricorn r., holding globe attached to a rudder, a cornucopia above its back.
99. Cistophorus. Pergamum, 27-26 BC. *RIC I*² 488.
Obv: IMP CAESAR – bare head of Augustus, r.; in front, a lituus/Rev: AVGVSTVS – Capricorn, r.; all in a laurel wreath.
100. Denarius. Mint moving with Antony, 40 BC. *RRC* 520.
Obv: bare head of Antony, r.; behind, a lituus/Rev: M ANT IMP III VIR R P C – caduceus in between two cornucopiae on a globe.
101. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 124.
Obv: bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS – radiate Sol hovering r. above a Capricorn r. with an oar.
102. Cistophorus. Pergamum, 27-26 BC. *RIC I*² 487.
Obv: IMP CAESAR – bare head of Augustus, r.; in front, a lituus/Rev: AVGVSTVS – Sphinx seated r.
- 103a. Denarius, Rome, 16 BC. *RIC I*² 365.
Obv: IMP CAESAR AVGVS TR POT IIX – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: C ANTIST V ETVS IIIVIR APOLLINI ACTIO – laureate and robed Apollo standing l. on platform ornamented with three foruli between two anchors, sacrificing over altar with patera in r. hand and holding a lyre in l. hand.
- 103b. Tetradrachm. Syria, 166 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.653.
Obv: laureate head of Apollo, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ – laureate and robed Apollo standing r., holding a cithara in l. hand and a patera in r. hand.
- 104a. Denarius. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC. *RIC I*² 171a.
Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP X ACT – Apollo, draped, standing l., holding a plectrum in r. hand and a lyre in l. hand.
- 104b. Bronze. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, 225-224 BC. Houghton and Lorber no.940.
Obv: head of Seleucus III, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – Apollo robed and standing r., holding a plectrum in r. hand and a cithara in l. hand.
- 105a. Denarius. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC. *RIC I*² 167a.
Obv: AVGVST DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP X – butting bull, r.
- 105b. Bronze. Antioch, 280 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.151
Obv: winged head of Medusa, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – butting bull, r.

106. Aureus. Rome, 27 BC. *RIC I*² 277.

Obv: CAESAR COS VII CIVIBVS SERVATEIS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS S C – eagle with head l. and wings spread, flanked by two laurel branches and standing on an oak wreath.

107. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Caesaraugusta, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 41.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: SIGNIS RECEPTIS – Mars Ultor, helmeted and cloaked, standing facing, head r. and holding an aquila in r. hand and standard over l. shoulder.

108a. Cistophorus. Pergamum, 19-18 BC. *RIC I*² 508.

Obv: IMP IX TR POT V – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: S P R SIGNIS RECEPTIS – arch inscribed IMP IX TR POT V and surmounted by a charioteer in facing quadriga; aquila on each side-wall.

108b. Denarius. Spain, Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 136.

Obv: S P Q R IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TRI POT VI – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: CIVIB ET SIGN MILIT A PART RECVP – arch surmounted by facing quadriga on central arch; figures on l. and r. hold a standard and an aquila and a bow, respectively.

108c. Denarius. Rome, 16 BC. *RIC I*² 359.

Obv: bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: L VINICIVS – arch inscribed S P Q R IMP CAE and surmounted by facing quadriga bearing Augustus, holding a laurel branch in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand; smaller arch on either side, surmounted on l. by an archer (?) and a slinger (?) on r.

109. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 18-16 BC. *RIC I*² 97.

Obv: S P Q R PAREN CONS SVO – toga picta over tunica palmate between an aquila on l. and a wreath on r./Rev: CAESARI AVGVSTO – triumphal quadriga r. with ornamented panels, surmounted by four miniature galloping horses.

110. Denarius. Rome, 18 BC. *RIC I*² 322.

Obv: Q RVSTIVS FORTVNAE ANTIAT - jugate draped busts r. of Fortuna Victrix (the nearer) wearing round helmet and holding a patera and Fortuna Felix, diademed, above bar with a ram's head finials/Rev: CAESARI AVGVSTO EX S C – ornamented rectangular altar inscribed FOR RE

111a. Denarius. Rome, 16 BC. *RIC I*² 358.

Obv: I O M S P Q R V S PR S IMP CAE QVOD PER EV R P IN AMP AT Q TRA/ S E in seven lines in oak wreath/Rev: L MESCINIVS RVFVS IIIVIR – cippus inscribed IMP CAES AVGV COMM CONS in five lines with S C to l. and r.

111b. Denarius. Rome, 16 BC. *RIC I*² 362.

Obv: S P Q R IMP CAES – equestrian statue of Augustus r. in front of city-walls and gate/Rev: L VINICIVS L F IIIVIR – cippus inscribed S P Q R IMP CAE QVOD VM S EX EA P Q IS AD A DE in six lines.

111c. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 145.

Obv: S P Q R CAESARI AVGVSTO – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: QVOD VIAE MVN SVNT – Augustus, crowned by Victory, in horse quadriga r. on double arch, ornamented with rostra, on viaduct.

112a. Denarius. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 398.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus r.; behind, a lituus/Rev: C MARIVS C F TRO IIIVIR – Augustus, veiled and togate, standing l., holding a simpulum in r. hand.

112b. Aureus. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 402.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVST – bare head of Augustus r.; behind, a lituus and a simpulum/Rev: C MARIVS TRO IIIVIR – Augustus, veiled and togate, ploughing r. with two oxen before city-walls.

112c. Denarius. Rome, 12 BC. *RIC I*² 415.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: L LENTVLVS FLAMEN MARTIALIS – Augustus, laureate and togate, standing facing, placing star with r. hand on half-clad Julius Caesar, who holds Victory in r. hand and a spear in l. hand, and resting l. arm on shield inscribed C V.

112d. Aureus. Rome, 12 BC. *RIC I*² 413.

Rev: COSSVS LENTVLVS RES PVB AVGVST – Augustus, togate, standing l. and extending r. hand to Respublica kneeling before him.

113a. Cistophorus. Pergamum, 19-18 BC. *RIC I*² 507.

Obv: IMP IX TR PO V – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: MART VLTO – tetrastyle domed temple of five steps within which is a standard.

113b. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Caesaraugusta, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 39a.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: MARTIS VLTORIS – tetrastyle domed temple of four steps within which is a figure of Mars Ultor, helmeted, standing r., holding an aquila in r. hand and a standard over l. shoulder.

113c. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 69a.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: MAR VLT – tetrastyle domed temple of three steps within which is a figure of Mars Ultor, helmeted and cloaked, standing r., holding an aquila in r. hand and a standard over l. shoulder.

113d. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 105a.

Obv: CAESARI AVGVSTO – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: MAR VLT – hexastyle domed temple of three steps within which are an aquila in between two standards.

113e. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 108b.

Obv: CAESARI AVGVSTO – laureate head of Augustus, l./Rev: S P Q R – tetrastyle domed temple of three steps within which is a triumphal quadriga r., with ornamented panels containing an aquila and surmounted by four miniature galloping horses.

114. Sestertius. Rome, AD 35-37. *RIC I*²: Tiberius 67.

Obv: hexastyle temple with flanking wings within which is a seated figure of Concordia, holding a patera in r. hand and a cornucopia in l. hand; Hercules and Minerva stand on flanking podia; Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Victories, and other figures above pediment.

115. Sestertius. Lugdunum, AD 64-67. *RIC I*²: Nero 584.

Rev: PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT S C – temple of Janus.

116. Denarius. Rome, 44 BC. *RRC* 480/21.

Rev: CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS – tetrastyle temple with globe in pediment.

117. Denarius. Mint moving with Octavian, 36 BC. *RRC* 540/2.

Rev: COS ITER ET TER DESIG – tetrastyle temple within which is a veiled figure holding lituus in r. hand; DIVO IVL inscribed on architrave; star on pediment; in field to l., a lighted altar.

118a. Brass. Tarraco, after AD 15. *RPC I*: 222.

Obv: DEO AVGVSTO – Divus Augustus enthroned l., holding Victory on globe with r. hand and sceptre in l. hand/Rev: C V T T AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE – octastyle temple.

118b. Bronze. Tarraco, after AD 21-2. *RPC I*: 224.

Obv: DEO AVGVSTO – Divus Augustus seated on a curule chair l., holding a patera in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand/Rev: C V T T AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE – octastyle temple.

119. Denarius. Rome, 78 BC. *RRC* 385/1.

Rev: M VOLTEI M F – temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

120. Denarius. Mint moving with Antony, 42 BC. *RRC* 496/1.

Rev: III VIR R P C - distyle temple within which is a radiate bust of Sol.

121. Denarius. Rome, 55 BC. *RRC* 428/1.

Rev: temple of Vesta within which is a curule chair; on l., urn; on r., tablet inscribed A C.

122. Bronze. Samos, AD 253-268. *SNG Hunter* 1841.

Rev: CAMION - tetrastyle temple with cult statue of Hera.

123. Segmented polygonal apse of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.

124a. Reconstruction of circular huts on the Palatine dating to the 8th century BC. Rome, Palatine museum.

124b. Reconstruction of a circular hut on the Palatine dating to the 8th century BC. Rome, Palatine Museum.

124c. Cinerary hut urn dating to the 8th century BC. Rome, museo della civiltà romana.

125. Aureus. Spain – Colonia Caesaraugusta, c.19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 27.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IOV TON – hexastyle temple within which is a figure of Jupiter Tonans leaning on a sceptre in l. hand and holding a thunderbolt in r. hand.

126a. Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c.19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 57.

Obv: bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IOVI VOT SVSC SAL CAES AVG S P Q R in five lines in an oak wreath.

126b. Denarius. Spain - Colonia Patricia, c.19-16 BC. *RIC I*² 150a.

Obv: S P Q R CAESARI AVGVSTO – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: VOT P SVSC
PRO SAL ET RED I O M SACR – Mars, helmeted and cloaked, standing l., holding
vertical vexillum in r. hand and parazonium over l. shoulder.

126c. Denarius. Rome, 16 BC. *RIC I*² 356.

Obv: S C OB R P CVM SALVT IMP CAESAR AVGVS CONS - *imago clipeata* of
Augustus, bare-headed, three-quarters, r.; all around a laurel wreath/Rev: L
MESCINIVS RVFVS IIIVIR – Mars, helmeted and cloaked, standing l. on a pedestal
inscribed S P Q R V PR RE CAES, holding a spear in r. hand and a parazonium in
l. hand.

126d. Aureus. Rome, 16 BC. *RIC I*² 369.

Obv: C ANTISTI VETVS IIIVIR – winged bust of Victory, r./Rev: PRO
VALETVDINE CAESARIS S P Q R – veiled priest standing l., holding a patera over
lighted and garlanded altar; to which, *victimarius* leads bull.

127. Bronze. Greece, 38 BC. *RPC I*: 1454.

Obv: M ANT IMP TER COS DES ITER ET TER ET TER III VIR R P C - jugate bare
heads of Antony and Octavian r., facing draped head of Octavia, l./Rev: L
ATRATINVS AVGVR COS DESIG – three galleys.

128a. Dupondius. Nemausus, c. 28-9BC. *RIC I*² 154.

Obv: IMP DIVI F – heads of Agrippa, wearing a rostral crown and a laurel wreath, and
Octavian/Augustus, bare, back to back/Rev: COL NEM – palm shoot behind crocodile
r.

128b. Dupondius. Nemausus, c. 8-3 BC. *RIC I*² 158.

Obv: IMP DIVI F – heads of Agrippa, wearing a rostral crown and a laurel wreath, and
Augustus, wearing oak wreath, back to back/Rev: COL NEM – palm shoot behind
crocodile r.

128c. Dupondius. Nemausus, AD 10-14. *RIC I*² 159.

Obv: IMP DIVI F P P – heads of Agrippa, wearing a rostral crown and a laurel wreath,
and Augustus, wearing laurel wreath, back to back/Rev: COL NEM – palm shoot
behind crocodile r.

129. As. Rome, 225 BC. *RRC* 36/1.

Obv: laureate head of bearded Janus/Rev: prow, l.

130a. Denarius. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC. *RIC I*² 162a.

Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP X – Tiberius with a
parazonium giving a laurel branch to Augustus seated l. on a stool on a platform.

130b. Aureus. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC. *RIC I*² 164a.

Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP X – Tiberius and
Drusus, each with a parazonium and each giving a laurel branch to Augustus seated l.
on a stool on a platform.

131a. Denarius. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 408.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: M AGRIPPA
PLATORINVS IIIVIR – bare head of Agrippa, r.

131b. Aureus. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 409.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – oak-wreathed head of Augustus, r./Rev: M AGRIPPA PLATORINVS IIIVIR – head of Agrippa r., wearing a combined mural and rostral crown.

132a. Denarius. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 397.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus r., behind, lituus/Rev: C MARIVS C F TRO IIIVIR – Augustus, laureate, and Agrippa, wearing a combined mural and rostral crown, both togate, standing on l. and r., each holding a roll, with a *capsa* at feet.

132b. Denarius. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 406.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: C SVLPIC PLATORIN – Augustus and Agrippa, bare-headed and togate, seated half-left on a *bisellium* on a platform ornamented by rostra; on l., staff or spear.

133. Denarius. Rome, 12 BC. *RIC I*² 412.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: COSSVS CN F LENTVLVS – equestrian statue of Agrippa, helmeted and carrying a trophy, r. on a pedestal ornamented with two prows.

134. Denarius. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 404.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus r., behind, a lituus/Rev: C MARIVS TR O III VIR – head of Julia r. between heads of Augustus and Agrippa, both r.; above, an oak wreath.

135. Denarius. Rome, 13 BC. *RIC I*² 417.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: L CANINIVS GALLVS IIIVIR AVGVSTVS TR POT – *bisellium* with apparitor's staff r.

136. Denarius. Lugdunum, 8 BC. *RIC I*² 201a.

Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP XIII – Augustus, togate, seated l. on a stool on a platform, extending r. hand to infant held out by a Germanic barbarian.

137. Denarius. Lugdunum, 8 BC. *RIC I*² 199.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: C CAES AVGVVS F – Gaius Caesar galloping r., holding reins in r. hand and a sword and shield in l. hand; behind, an aquila in between two standards.

138a. Denarius. Lugdunum, c. 2 BC-AD 9. *RIC I*² 207.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT – Gaius and Lucius Caesar, on l. and r., standing front, togate and resting hand on shield; behind each shield, a spear; above, on l. a simpulum, and on r. a lituus.

138b. Denarius. Lugdunum, c. 2 BC-AD 9. *RIC I*² 210.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT – Gaius and Lucius Caesar, on l. and r., standing front, togate and resting hand on shield; behind each shield, a spear; above, on l. a lituus, and on r. a simpulum.

138c. Denarius. Lugdunum, c. 2 BC-AD 9. *RIC I*² 211.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT – Gaius and Lucius Caesar, on l. and r., standing front, togate and resting hand on shield; behind each shield, a spear; above, on l. a simpulum, and on r. a lituus; below simpulum and lituus X.

139. Denarius. Rome, 109-108 BC. *RRC* 304.

Rev: L MEMMI – Dioscuri, standing facing between their horses, each holding a spear.

140. Denarius. Lugdunum, AD 13-14. *RIC I*² 222.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: TI CAESAR AVG F TR POT XV – laureate Tiberius, standing in triumphal quadriga r., holding a laurel branch in r. hand and eagle-tipped sceptre in l. hand.

141. Aureus. Lugdunum, AD 13-14. *RIC I*² 225.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: TI CAESAR AVG F TR POT XV – bare head of Tiberius, r.

142. Denarius, Lugdunum, AD 13-14. *RIC I*² 220.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: PONTIF MAXIM – Livia, draped, seated on a low-backed chair r., r. arm leaning on a sceptre and holding a branch in l. hand.

143a. As. Lugdunum, AD 9-10. *RIC I*² 237.

Obv: TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT V – bare head of Tiberius, l./Rev: ROM ET AVG – Lugdunese altar of Roma and Augustus.

143b. As. Lugdunum, AD 9-10. *RIC I*² 238a.

Obv: TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT V – laureate head of Tiberius, l./Rev: ROM ET AVG – Lugdunese altar of Roma and Augustus.

143c. Sestertius. Lugdunum, AD 12-14. *RIC I*² 248a.

Obv: TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT VII – laureate head of Tiberius, r./Rev: ROM ET AVG – Lugdunese altar of Roma and Augustus.

143d. As. Rome, AD 10-11. *RIC I*² 469.

Obv: TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT V – bare head of Tiberius, r./Rev: PONTIFEX TRIBVN POTESTATE XII around S C.

144a. As. Lugdunum, c.12 BC -after 10 BC. *RIC I*² 230.

Obv: CAESAR PONT MAX – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: ROM ET AVG – Lugdunese altar of Roma and Augustus.

144b. As. Lugdunum, AD 9-14. *RIC I*² 233.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE – laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: ROM ET AVG - Lugdunese altar of Roma and Augustus.

144c. As. Rome, AD 11-12. *RIC I*² 471.

Obv: IMP CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS IMP XX – bare head of Augustus, l./Rev: PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POT XXXIII around S C.

145. Boscoreale cup II:2. Tiberius' triumph of 8/7BC. Tiberius standing in triumphal quadriga, r., being crowned by a servus *publicus* and holding a laurel branch in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand.

FIGURES



1.



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20a.



20b.



20c.



20d.



20e.



20f.



21a.



21b.



21c.



22a.





21d.



22b.



22c.



23.



24b.



24a.



25.



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27a.



27b.



27c.



27d



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30a.



30b.



31a.

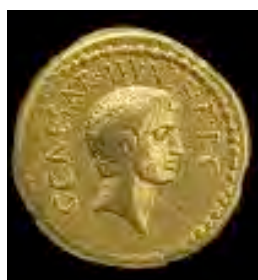


31b.



31c.

31d.



31e.



31f.



31h.



31g.



32a.



32b.



32c.



33.



34.



35a.



35b.



36.



37a.



38a.



37b.

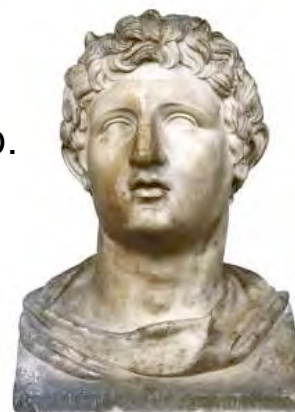


38b.





39a.



39b.



40a.



40b.



40c.



40d.



41a



41b.



41c.



42a.



42b.



42c.



42d.



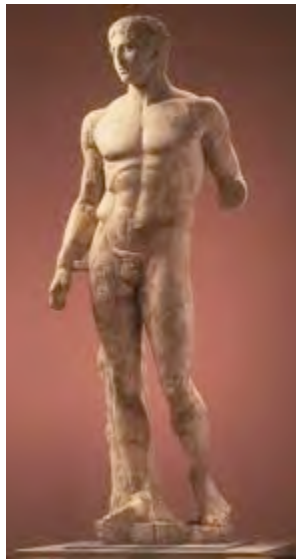
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43b.



43c.



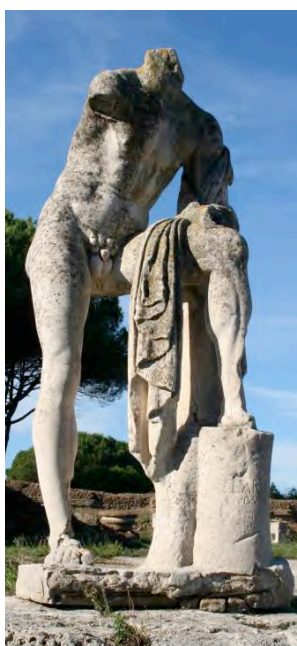
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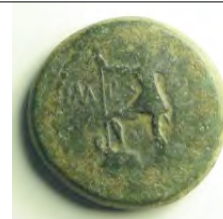
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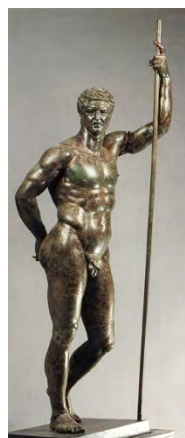
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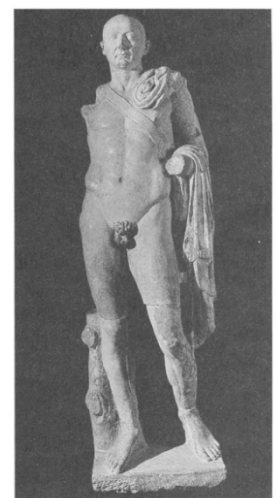
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47a.



47b.



47c.



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50a.



50b.



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57a.



57b.



57c.





59a.



59c.



59d.



59f.



59b.



59e.



59g.



59h.



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62a.



62b.



62c.



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70a.



70b.



70c.



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73a.



73b.



74a.



74b.



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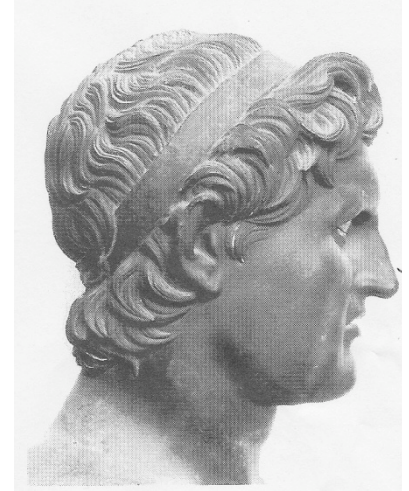
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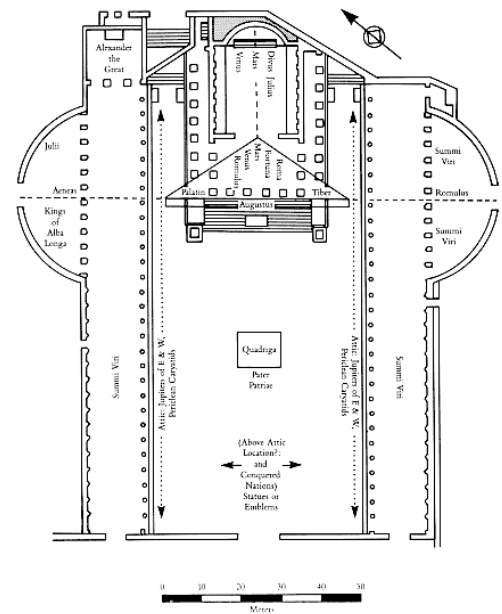
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76b.



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85a.



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87a.



87b.



87c.



88.



89a.



89b.



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94a.



94b.



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95.



96a.



96b.



97.



98.



99.



100.



101.



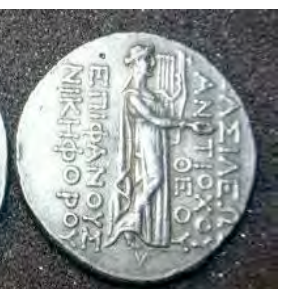
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103a.



103b.





104a.



104b.



105a.



105b.



106.



107.



108a.



108c.



108b.



109.





110.

111a.



111b.

111c.



112a.



112b.



112c.



112d.



113a.



113b.



113c.



113d.



113e.



114.



115.



116.



117.



118a.



118b.



119.



120.



121.



122.



123.



124a.



124b.



124c.



125.



126a.



126b.



126c.



126d.



127.



128a.



128b.



128c.



129.



130a.



130b.



131a.



131b.



132a.



132b.



133.



134.



135.



136.



137.



138a.



138b.



138c.



139.



140.



141.



142.



143a.



143c.



143b.



143d.



144a.



144b.



144c.



145.

TABLE 1

MEMBERS OF THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY ON COINS OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES

***N/A=obverse and reverse types and legends do not portray or name a member of the Augustan family

Date	Member	Mint	Denomination	Type	Legend	RPC 1 no.
25 BC	Marcellus and Julia	Africa	AE	Rev: heads of Marcellus and Julia face to face	N/A	5415
19 BC	Agrippa	Gades	AE	(1)Obv: seated figure of Agrippa	(1)MVNICIPI PARENS/M AGRIPPA COS III	78-79, 80-81, 82, 83
				(2)N/A	(2)Rev: M AGRIPPA COS III MVNICIPI PAREN	
				(3) Obv: rostral head of Agrippa	(3)AGRIPPA/MVNICIPI PARENS	
				(4) Obv:rostral head of Agrippa	(4)AGRIPPA/MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS	
				(5) N/A	(5)Rev: MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS	
				(6) Obv:bare head of Agrippa	(6)AGRIPPA/MVNICIPI PATRONVS PARENS	
	Agrippa	Carthago Nova	AE	Obv: bare head of Agrippa	M AGRIP QVIN	164
	Agrippa	Tingi	AE	Rev: bare head of Agrippa	M AGRIPPA	864
16 BC	Tiberius	Gades	AE	(1) Obv: bare head (of Tiberius?) (2) Obv: bare head (of Tiberius?)	(1) NERO/TI CLAVDIVS (2) TI CLAVDIVS NERO	88-91
9 BC	Tiberius	Carthago Nova		Obv: bare head of Tiberius	TI NERONE QVI	166
8-7 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Hadrumentum	AE	Rev: bare heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face	L CAE F C CAE F	775

	Gaius and Lucius	Achulla	AE		Obv: bare head of Augustus; in front, bare head of Gaius; behind, bare head of Lucius	CL	798
6-5 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Hippo Regius	AE		Rev: bare heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face	CL	709
	Tiberius	Hippo Regius	AE		Obv: bare head of Tiberius	CLAUDIO NERONI	710
After 6 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Gades	AE		Rev: heads of Gaius and Lucius back to back	N/A	96-97
	Gaius and Lucius	Iulia Traducta	AE		(1) Rev: heads of Gaius and Lucius back to back (2) Obv: bare head of Gaius (3) Obv: bare head of Lucius	(1) CL CAES (2) C CAES F (3) L CAES	98, 101-102, 107
4-3 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Caesaraugusta	AE		(1) Obv: three standing figures all on bases – Augustus in the middle holding a simpulum, Lucius and Gaius beside (2) Obv: bare head of Gaius (3) Obv: bare head of Lucius	(1) L CAES AR C CAES COS DES (2) C CAESAR AVG V F (3) L CAESAR AVG V F	319, 323, 324
After 2 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Tarraco	AE		(1) Rev: heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face (2) Obv: Gaius and Lucius standing, holding shields between them	CL CAES AVG F CAESARES GEMINI	210-213
AD 4-14	Tiberius	Tarraco	AE		Rev: bare head of Tiberius	TI CAESAR	215
AD 10	Tiberius	Sicca	AE		Rev: bare head of Tiberius	TI CAES	706-707
	Tiberius	Carthage	AE		Obv: bare head of Tiberius	TI CA IMP V	747-748
	Tiberius	Lepti Minus	AE		Obv: bare head of Tiberius	TI CAE AVG F IMP V	789

After AD 10- 12	Tiberius	Caesaraugusta	AE	Rev: laureate head of Tiberius	(1)TI CAESAR AVG VSTI F (2)TI CAESAR AVG F	330-331
AD 13	Tiberius	Lepti Magni	AE	Obv: bare head of Tiberius	TI CAE AVG F IMP VII	791
AD 10- 14	Tiberius	Thaena	AE	Rev: bare head of Tiberius; in front, lituus	TI CAESAR AVG F IMP	809

TABLE 2
MEMBERS OF THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY ON COINS OF THE EASTERN PROVINCES

***N/A=obverse and reverse types and legends do not portray or name a member of the Augustan family

Date	Member	Mint	Denomination	Type	Legend	RPC 1 no.
31-2 BC	Livia	Sparta	AE	Obv: head of Livia	N/A	1103
	Agrippa	Sparta	AE	Obv: bare head of Agrippa	ΑΓΡ	1106
27 BC	Agrippa	Cnossos	AE	Obv: bare head of Agrippa	N/A	976
	Agrippa	Nicopolis	AE	Obv: bare head of Agrippa	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1366-7
	Agrippa	Apamea	AE	Rev: bare head of Agrippa	ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ COS III	2008
	Agrippa	Parium	AE	Rev: bare head of Agrippa	M ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ	2260
Early in Augustus' reign	Livia	Ephesus	AE	Obv: busts of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right	N/A	2576, 2580, 2581-5, 2587, 2589-91, 2593-6, 2599-606, 2608-12
20 BC	Livia	Thessalonica	AE	Obv: head of Livia	ΘΕΑ or ΘΕΟΥ ΛΙΒΙΑ	1563
20-12 BC	Agrippa	Cyrenaica	AE	Obv: bare heads of Augustus and Agrippa face to face	CAESAR TR POT ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ	942
19 BC	Livia	Alexandria	AE	Obv: bust of Livia draped right	ΛΙΟΥΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ	5006, 5008
12-11 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Sinope	AE	Rev: jugate heads of Gaius and Lucius	N/A	2117
11-10 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Sinope	AE	Rev: jugate heads of Gaius and Lucius	N/A	2118

11 BC -AD12	Livia	Thrace	AE	Rev: heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right. Capricorn and globe in right field	N/A	1708-10
10 BC	Livia	Smyrna	AE	Obv: heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia draped, jugate right	N/A	2464, 2466
10-9 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Sinope		Rev: jugate heads of Gaius and Lucius	N/A	2119
10-5 BC	Gaius	Tralles	AE	Rev: bare head of Gaius	ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	2646
	Gaius	Alexandria	AE	Rev: bare head of Gaius	ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	5019
10 BC -before 2 BC	Livia and Julia	Pergamum	AE	Obv: bust of Livia draped right Rev: bust of Julia draped right	ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΡΑΝ ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ	2359
	Gaius and Lucius	Aegae	AE	Obv: bare head of Lucius Rev: bare head of Gaius	ΛΕΥΚΙΟΝ/ ΓΑΙΟΝ	2428
8-7 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Sinope	AE	Rev: jugate heads of Gaius and Lucius	N/A	'2120
	Gaius and Lucius	Pitane	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius Rev: bare head of Lucius; before, head of Ammon	Γ ΚΑΙCΑΡΑ/Α ΚΑΙCΑΡΑ	2293
5 BC	Gaius	Laodicea	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius	ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	2899-900
	Gaius	Hierapolis	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius	ΓΑΙΟΣ	2944, 2946, 2948, 2950, 2952
	Gaius	Apamea	AE	(1)Rev: Gaius in quadriga (2)Obv: bare head of Gaius	(1) ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ (2) ΓΑΙΟΣ	3129, 3130
	Gaius	Siblia	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius	ΓΑΙΟΣ	3162

5-4 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Sinope	AE	(1)Rev:jugate heads of Gaius and Lucius (2)Rev: heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face	N/A	2121-2
2 BC	Livia, Gaius, and Lucius	Magnesia ad Sipylum	AE	(1) Obv: Heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia draped, both jugate right Rev: heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face (2) Rev: bust of Livia draped right	(1)N/A (2)N/A	2449 2450
	Livia	Tralles	AE	Rev: Livia (as Demeter) standing and facing front, holding ears of grain and flowers in left hand, right hand raised. Crescent in right field. Obv: bare head of Gaius Rev: Livia (as Demeter) standing and facing front, holding ears of grain and flowers in left hand, right hand raised. Crescent in right field.	(1)ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Λ(E) IBIA (2) ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ/ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΑΕΙΒΙΑ	2647 2648
	Gaius and Lucius	Cnossos	AE	Rev: bare heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face	C L	979
2-1 BC	Gaius and Lucius	Corinth	AE	Rev: bare heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face	C L	1136
	Gaius and Lucius	Amisus	AE	Rev: heads of Gaius and Lucius face to face	N/A	2148
1 BC	Gaius	Pergamum	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius	Γ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	2361
AD 1	Gaius and Lucius	Pergamum	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius Rev: bare head of Lucius	ΓΑΙΟΝ/ΑΕΥΚΙΟΝ	2363

	Gaius	Cyprus	AE	Rev: bare head of Gaius	(1)C CAESAR AVG F PONT COS (2)C CAESAR AVG F PRINC IVVENT	3908-13
AD 1-5	Livia	Alexandria	AE	Obv: bust of Livia draped right	N/A	5027
AD 4	Gaius and Lucius	Pergamum	AE	Obv: bare head of Gaius Rev: bare head of Lucius	Γ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ/Α ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ	2365
	Tiberius	Thessalonica	AE	Rev: bare head of Tiberius	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	1565
AD 4-5	Tiberius	Corinth	AE	(1)Obv: bare head of Tiberius (2)Rev: bare head of Tiberius	(1)ΤΙ CAESAR (2)N/A	1140, 1144
	Agrippa Postumus	Corinth	AE	Obv: bare head of Agrippa Postumus	ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ CAESAR	1141
	Germanicus	Corinth	AE	Obv: bare head of Germanicus	GERMANICUS CAESAR	1142
	Drusus, son of Tiberius	Corinth	AE	Obv: bare head of Drusus	ΔΡΥΣΥΣ CAESAR	1143
AD 4-14	Gaius	Thessalonica	AE	Rev: bare head of Gaius	ΓΑΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΤΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ	1564
	Livia and Tiberius	Smyrna	AE	Obv: heads of Augustus and Tiberius bare facing each other Rev: Livia as Aphrodite Stratonikis standing and facing front, holding sceptre and Nike and leaning on column. Dove in right field, monogram in left field	ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ/ ΛΙΒΙΑΝ	2467
AD 9-10	Livia	Alexandria	AE	Obv: bust of Livia draped right	N/A	5042-43, 5046-7

AD 10-11	Livia	Alexandria	AE	Obv: bust of Livia draped right	N/A	5053-5, 5058, 5063-5, 5068, 5072
AD 14	Livia	Bithynia	AE	Rev: Livia seated right, holding double cornucopia on her lap	N/A	2097

Coins with uncertain dates

Agrippa and Agrippa Postumus (end of the first century BC) – Apamea: *RPC I* 2011

Livia – Thessalian League, Methymna, Clazomenae, Nysa, Antioch ad Maeandrum, and Eumeneia (*RPC I*: 1427, 2338, 2496, 2663, 2829, 3143)

Gaius and/or Lucius – Scepsis, Methymna, Nicaea Cilbianorum, Nysa, Magnesia, Antioch ad Maeandrum, Tripolis (*RPC I*: 2326, 2337, 2563-4, 2660A, 2661, 2695, 2832, 3048, 3050)

Tiberius – Antioch ad Maeandrum (*RPC I*: 2833)

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